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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

VOLUME SECOND;

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY

OF

THE NATIONAL TRANSACTIONS,

AND

OF THE LABOURS, KNOWLEDGE, AND ENJOYMENTS OF THE SCOTS;

FROM

THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE THIRD,

TO

THE DEATH OF ROBERT BRUCE.

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HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TO THE

ÆRA OF THE ABOLITION

OF THE

HEREDITARY JURISDICTIONS

OF

SUBJECTS,

IN THE YEAR 1748.

BY ROBERT HERON.

VOLUME II.

EDINBURGH:
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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ADVERTISEMENT.

I PRESENT to the Public the Second Volume of the Hiſtory of Scotland.

IT comprehends one of the buſieſt and moſt intereſting Periods in the Hiſtory of the Scots, or perhaps of any other Nation.

I HAVE endeavoured to exhibit all thoſe facts in this period of the Scottiſh Hiſtory, of which the truth can now be aſcertained. I quote only the Original Hiſtorians and the Public Records of the time; becauſe upon the teſtimony of theſe alone, muſt the credit of my narrative depend. But, I have not neglected to conſult almoſt every other writer who has attempted to illuſtrate any topic connected with the objects of my hiſtorical reſearches.

I OWE the moſt thankful acknowledgements to the Authors of various, reſpectable Reviews, and to the Public in general, for the favourable reception of the Firſt Volume of this Work; and for that candid and liberal praiſe, which has had the natural effect of encouraging me to proceed with more ardent exertion, and with the moſt anxious care in the proſecution of my undertaking.

I WISH alſo publicly to expreſs my thanks to thoſe Gentlemen, who having done me the undeſerved honour of thinking the credit of the Scottiſh Nation, to be, in ſome meaſure concerned in the perfection and the ſucceſs of this Work; have obligingly pointed out, and communicated to me, ſome of the moſt valuable treaſures of authentic, original information.

In

In the courſe of my reſearches, I have had much very agreeable experience of the politeneſs of Mr *Manners* of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates. My own Collection of Books on the Scottiſh Hiſtory, is conſiderable. Yet, I have been greatly obliged by the *Bookſellers of Edinburgh* in general, who have kindly favoured me with the uſe of many rare books, neceſſary to my hiſtorical ſtudies, but which I was unable to purchaſe. Meſſrs *Bell and Bradfute* in particular have, with very liberal kindneſs, allowed me the free uſe of many books relating to the Hiſtory of Scotland, which I know not where I could have found, except in their very large and valuable Collection. To Mr *W. Laing*, well known as a Bookſeller uncommonly ſkilful and diligent in collecting ſcarce and precious books, I owe ſimilar obligations.

The ſubſequent parts of this Work are now in great forwardneſs; and the whole will be publiſhed as ſpeedily as poſſible.

R. HERON.

Edinburgh,
Feb. 11. 1796.

CON-

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ERRATA.

PAGE 2, Line 2 from foot, for *genereous* read *generous.*

— 87, — 3 ——— dele "*lawful.*"

— 98, — 9 ——— for *promptiude* read *promptitude.*

— 134, — 19 ——— for *twined* read *turned.*

— 206, — 10 ——— for *Scotliſh* read *Scottiſh.*

— 290, — ult. ——— for *Statua* read *Statuta.*

— 305, — 2 ——— for *to have neceſſarily* read *to have been neceſſarily.*

— 323, — 21 ——— for *twice* read *four times.*

— 349, — 8 ——— for *indentifying* read *identifying.*

— 370, — ult. ——— for *Statua* read *Statuta.*

— 407, — 23 ——— for *turned round* read *turned it round.*

INDICE.

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK III.

SECTION I.—CHAP. I.

MARGARET of NORWAY.

ALEXANDER the Third, although cut off by a premature death, had ſurvived his children. The heireſs of his Crown, was his infant grand-child, MARGARET, whom his daughter of the ſame name, had born to the King of Norway *. A. D. 1286. Margaret of Norway, heireſs of the Crown.

MARGARET was an infant, and, at the time of her grandfather's death, in a foreign country. The immediate government of the kingdom, was therefore committed, by a Convention of the Eſtates of Parliament, to the adminiſtration of ſix regents; William Frazer, Biſhop of St Andrews; Duncan, Earl of Fife; Alexander, Earl of Buchan; Robert Wiſheart, Biſhop of Glaſgow; John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch; and James, the Steward of Scotland. But, faction and anarchy diſtracted the kingdom. A Regency appointed.

* Fordun. X. 37. XI. 1:—Major, IV. 12:—Buchanan. VIII. Sub initio:—Leſl. VI. 95.

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1288. Of the newly appointed regents; the Earl of Fife, was ſoon after aſſaſſinated; the Earl of Buchan died, about the ſame time, by a natural death; James the Steward of Scotland, withdrew himſelf from the counſels of his remaining colleagues, and engaged in a factious combination with ſome other lords*.

Interference of the Kings of England and Norway.

While theſe things paſſed; the Kings of England, and Norway; the one, grand-uncle to the infant queen; the other, her father; eagerly turned their attention upon the ſtate and temper of the Scots. Edward the Firſt, one of the moſt valiant and politic monarchs that ever ſat on the Engliſh throne, was ambitious to ſeize the preſent occaſion of adding Scotland to the dominions of his Crown, by obtaining Margaret to be the wife of his eldeſt ſon. Eric of Norway, aſſerted his daughter's right to the Scottiſh throne; and endeavoured to put her in the undiſputed and ſecure poſſeſſion of it. After ſome preliminary negociations; in which the favour of all parties, was, in a great degree, conciliated to the wiſhes of Edward; ambaſſadors

A. D. 1289. from the Norwegian King, and from the Scottiſh regency, repaired to meet Engliſh plenipotentiaries, at Saliſbury; where a treaty was concluded among them, in the names of Edward, Eric, and the Scottiſh

* Forduni Scotichron. XI. 1. 11. 3:—Buchanani Hiſt. Lib. VIII. Sub initio:—*Sympſon's* Hiſtory of the Family of Stewart, p. 78.

Scottiſh nation, for the ſettlement of the affairs of Scotland, and for preſerving to its infant queen, the enjoyment of her royal inheritance*.

Treaty between the Scottiſh Nation, and the Kings of England and Norway.

By this treaty, it was agreed, that, the Scots ſhould re-eſtabliſh and maintain civil order and tranquillity in their country; that, any of the members of the Scottiſh regency, of whom the King of Norway might diſapprove, ſhould be removed from their office; that, Margaret, before ſhe were contracted in any matrimonial engagement, ſhould be immediately conveyed out of Norway, into Scotland or England; that, if ſhe ſhould arrive firſt in England, Edward ſhould then, deliver her, unmarried, to the Scots; but that, upon this laſt event, the Scots, on their part, ſhould engage, not to give their young Queen in marriage, without the conſent of Edward, and of Eric.†.

Farther negotiations with the King of Norway.

Conditions more expreſsly favourable to the politic views of the Engliſh King, could not, it ſhould ſeem, be, at this time, obtained by him. But, he had already applied to the Court of Rome, for a diſpenſation, to authorize a marriage between his ſon, and his grand-niece, the Norwegian princeſs. Having procured this diſpenſation, and gained the friendſhip

* Forduni Scotichron. Lib. XI. C. 1:—Rymeri Fœdera, T. II. P. 416. 431. 446.

† Forduni S. C. XI. 1:—Rymeri Fœdera, T. II. P. 446.

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friendſhip of the Scottiſh rulers; he joined the Scots, in preſſing Eric, to fulfil the late treaty, and ſend home, their Queen. Eric, in the tenderneſs of fatherly affection, was ſtill reluctant to commit his infant child to ſtrangers. Yet, the importunities and artifices of Edward and the Scots, at length prevailed; the Scots urging the neceſſities of their government; Edward inſiſting upon the Papal diſpenſation, accommodating Eric with the loan of a ſum of money, and gratifying his principal courtiers, with penſions*.

A. D. 1290.

Treaty for the marriage of Margaret with the Prince of Wales.

In the mean time, a new treaty was concluded, at Brigham, on the border of Scotland, between Edward, by his ambaſſadors; and the Scottiſh nobles and rulers, in the name of their nation. The fundamental article of this treaty, was, the ſtipulation of a marriage, to be contracted, as ſoon as it might be convenient, between the Prince of Wales, and the Scottiſh Queen. The rights and liberties of the Scottiſh nation, were to remain, for ever inviolable. Scotland was to continue, a ſeparate kingdom, never to be annexed to England, as a dependent province. Feudal homage and ſervices were to be performed by the vaſſals of the Scottiſh Crown, in Scotland only. Upon no account, whether civil or criminal, were the

* Rymeri Fœdera, II. 450. 472, 473. Prynne, III. 399.

the Scots to be dragged before courts of juſtice, beyond the confines of their kingdom. None of the rights or privileges of the Scottiſh Church, were to be, in any manner, infringed. The order of the government, and the properties and prerogatives of the Crown, were to be preſerved, without alienation or diminution, till Margaret ſhould arrive in her dominions*.

Usurpations of Edward, in conſequence of the treaty.

Hardly had this treaty been ratified, when the Engliſh King; anxious to ſecure the advantages which it ſtipulated to him; appointed one of his ſubjects, to act, in Scotland, as Lieutenant for his ſon, and the young Queen; required the Scots to deliver up their principal caſtles and ſtrong-holds, into his hands; and took various other meaſures, which ſhewed him to be more diſpoſed to wreſt the terms of the treaty to the purpoſes of his ambition, than to abide by any of its conditions that were not, even unreaſonably favourable to himſelf†.

Death of the young Queen of the Scots.

By this time, the young Queen, whom her father had, at laſt, intruſted into the hands of the Scottiſh and Engliſh ambaſſadors, was on her paſſage, from Norway, to Scotland. But, the hopes of the Scots, and the projects of Edward, were fruſtrated

* Rymeri Fœdera, T. II. P. 482. et ſeq.

† Fœdera, II. 488.

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frustrated alike. The child sickened at sea, was brought on shore in Orkney, and there languished, and died. To the Scots, the tidings of her death, were more alarming and sorrowful, than even the unfortunate end of her grandfather. They saw full before them, the unhappy prospect of a disputed succession, war with England, intestine discord. By the death of Margaret, their last pledge of tranquillity and peace, was ravished from them*.

Chapter II.

Inter-regnum, and Contentions for the Succession.

Uncertainty of the succession to the Throne.

THE extinction of the progeny of Alexander the Third, left the Scottish throne subject to the claims of a number of pretended heirs; of whom, no one had a title to which the uncertainties of the feudal law of succession could give a decisive and unquestionable preference.

Review of the progress of civility and social institutions in Scotland.

SOCIAL union and civil establishments, had, by this time; as we have seen in the preceding books; advanced to a mighty improvement from the primitive rudeness and instability, in which they appeared in these northern regions, at the æra when the

* Fordun. XI. 1:—Buchanan. L. VIII:—Fœdera II. 1090:—M. Westmon. 414.

the Scottiſh name became firſt known in Britain. Petty *hordes* had been combined into communities. Union or conqueſt had, by degrees, formed theſe into one, and that not an inconſiderable, kingdom. The piratical incurſions of the Norſe-men, had, at length, ceaſed; and their Hebudian poſſeſſions had been ignominiouſly relinquiſhed. The races of almoſt all the ancient, independent chieftains, had periſhed; except that alone, which poſſeſſed the Scottiſh Crown. The forms of feudal dominion; introduced indeed from France, and from England; but in their ſpirit and regulations, wonderfully congenial to that ſpecies of barbarous ſubordination which had, before, taken place in Scotland; were now at length compleatly eſtabliſhed here. Norman knights had, by grant, or by marriage, gained poſſeſſion of moſt of the great fieffs under the Scottiſh Crown. To contentions between petty, independent chieftains, had ſucceeded, inceſſant quarrels among rival nobles; rebellions and ſtruggles of the great vaſſals, againſt the Crown; wars of the Sovereign upon his ſubjects, ſtill from time to time, renewed. Tenures of land, were, almoſt univerſally feudal. But, the uſurpations of the Church; the ſhortneſs of the period, during which the feudal law had been fully eſtabliſhed; the ignorance of the Age in general; and the univerſal predominance of force over right or reaſon; had left the application of the feudal law, to many

caſes

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cases in the practice of society, still but imperfectly ascertained, by either institution or precedent.

Abstract of the History of England, from the Conquest.

Since the accession of the Norman line, whether by bequest, conquest, or election, to the throne of England; this monarchy, the too formidable neighbour and rival of Scotland, had been animated, in some manner, with a new spirit, and braced with more energetic vigour. The descendents and successors of William of Normandy, were, for the greater part, a valiant and politic race of princes. In the situation in which those of them, who sat on the throne of England, were placed, great qualities were indispensibly necessary. Their powerful vassals were to be kept in subjection; the incursions of the Scots and Welch, were to be continually repressed; the continental possessions of the Royal Family, were still to be manfully defended and maintained; the usurpations of an overgrown and grasping Church, were to be guarded against, and checked. William the Bastard, his sons, William Rufus and Henry the First, Henry the Second, and, in the end, even the feeble and ill-fortuned Henry the Third, proved considerably successful on all hands. The Welch were gradually subdued; the invasions of the Scots were resisted; the continental dominions of the English Kings, were extended, or, at least, little impaired; ambitious and rebellious nobles were still mastered and

and cut off; even the clergy were, by the vigorous policy of Henry the Second, ſtopped ſhort in their career of uſurpation. Edward the Firſt, having been early tried in the troubles of his father's reign; and having, with the gallantry of a Knight-Errant, and a Chriſtian Hero, viſited the Holy Land; was mature in years and experience, and had acquired a great character, before the time of his ſucceſſion to the Engliſh throne. There was no immediate ſubject of his government, ſo wealthy, powerful, and illuſtrious, as to be, ſingly, formidable to the royal authority. Skilfully diſpenſing his favours to the burgeſſes and yeomanry; he attached them, in a particular manner, to his perſon; and raiſed them, by new immunities and privileges, to a degree of conſequence, at which they formed a counterpoiſe to the power of the nobles. The laſt remains of Welch freedom and independency, periſhed by the hands of Edward. Even the obſtinate ambition of the Clergy, was compelled to make new conceſſions to the vigorous and artful authority which he exerted againſt them. The death of Alexander the Third of Scotland, opened to Edward, a new field for ambitious enterprize. Might he, by marriage, or by arms, unite Scotland, as well as Wales, under his dominion? It would then be eaſy to enlarge his continental poſſeſſions, and to humble his moſt potent enemy, the King of France. His negotiations for obtaining the heireſs

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of the Scottiſh Crown, in marriage, to his ſon, were indeed fruſtrated by her death. But, in the courſe of thoſe negotiations, he had drawn the eyes of the Scottiſh nation upon himſelf; had gained a number of ſecret or open adherents among their nobility; had, in fact, eſtabliſhed an influence over them, by which his wiſhes already directed, in a great meaſure, their public tranſactions. Edward was not of a ſpirit, to yield up this influence, or to relinquiſh, upon a ſlight change of circumſtances, thoſe ſanguine hopes which he had conceived, of reducing Scotland under his dominion. The ſame artful policy, the ſame ardent valour, which had ſubjugated Wales, might ſooner or later triumph over the Scots, and unite the whole iſle under the ſway of a ſingle monarch.

Ireland.

Ireland had been granted, for converſion and conqueſt, by Pope Adrian, a man of Engliſh extraction, to the Engliſh King Henry the Second. Private adventurers from England; and ſtill more, a public and royal force; had, ſince, made ſome progreſs in the conqueſt of that iſland. But, their poſſeſſions in Ireland, had not yet added any thing to the public and military ſtrength of the Engliſh nation; nor had the final conqueſt of the Iriſh, as yet become, in any conſiderable degree, a favourite object of ambition with the Engliſh Kings. Yet, the native Iriſh, although in part, probably of the ſame

ſame origin, as the Weſtern and Highland Scots, had long been divided from all alliance with Scotland. They were too wildly ſavage, and too little capable of the extenſive views of able policy, to combine with the Scots againſt the Engliſh, the common enemies of the liberties of both. Whatever the changes of princes, of ſovereign families, or of forms of government, in Scotland; its fate was, in the preſent ſtate of things, hardly liable to be, in any meaſure, influenced by the vicinity of Ireland.

Norway, &c.

The Danes and Norwegians had anciently conquered the Scottiſh Iſles; had made themſelves, maſters of England; had ravaged the coaſts of the better half of Europe; and had triumphed, the unrivalled lords of the northern and middle ſeas. But, their dominion in Britain and its contiguous iſles, had been overthrown. Piracy had begun to give place to peaceful commerce. Cauſes originating in the altered policy and manners of the other nations of Europe; and in the fluctuations of internal order and dominion, among the Scandinavian Powers; had put an end to all that terrour and thoſe continual devaſtations with which the valiant and maritime people of the North, once afflicted the kingdoms of the South. By the failure of the expedition againſt the Hebudæ, the naval force of Norway, ſuffered an almoſt irretrievable loſs.

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loſs. Eric could not now equip an immenſe fleet; as ſome of his anceſtors might have done; and invade Scotland, to claim for himſelf, the inheritance of his daughter's rights.

France.

France, the rival of England, had, ſome time before, begun to practiſe the policy of drawing the Scots to invade England, whenever the Engliſh Kings invaded the French dominions. But, this policy had not, as yet, eſtabliſhed a regular, political intercourſe between the French and the Scots; nor acquired to the former, any important influence upon the ordinary government, or the revolutions of the latter.

Rome.

The Papal Court of Rome, or ſometimes of Avignon, alone, kept a watchful eye upon the tranſactions of all Chriſtian nations; maintained, by means of its legates, of miſſionaries, of the Clergy in general, a conſtant correſpondence with them; and exerted, at almoſt all times, a powerful authority, as well upon their civil, as over their eccleſiaſtical affairs. But, its vigilance, and its interference, were rarely directed to other ends, than the protection of its Clergy, the extenſion of its own power, and the draining of the wealth of all other countries, through every poſſible channel, into Italy and Rome, or into Avignon. Its connivance, or even approbation might be won by bribes or conceſſions, to any fraud in negociation,

or

or injuſtice in conqueſt, however nefarious, and indefenſible. If the poſſeſſions and privileges of the Church, ſhould be preſerved inviolate; and if, perchance, the authority of Rome or Avignon over the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Britain, ſhould be increaſed, and its revenue from the iſland, augmented; the Scots might ravage England, the Engliſh conquer Scotland, either the one nation or the other prevail, by force or artifices, over their fellow-iſlanders; without being interrupted, in their enterprize, by any ſerious interpoſition of the Papal Court.

Such, then, were, the internal ſtate of Scotland; its relations to the moſt contiguous neighbouring kingdoms and courts; the diſpoſitions of theſe courts and kingdoms towards the Scottiſh nation; and their power to influence its public affairs; at the time, when, by the extinction of the poſterity of Alexander the Third, the ſucceſſion to the Scottiſh throne, was laid open to a number of competitors; and when the ambitious Edward the Firſt of England, appeared to have reſolved to add Scotland to his dominions, by artful negotiation, by open war, or by the occaſional uſe of both theſe means, as changing circumſtances might ſuggeſt.

Names of the Competitors.

Beside the King of Norway who claimed the ſucceſſion to his deceaſed daughter's kingdom, with ſmall hopes of obtaining it; there appeared twelve

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twelve other competitors for the Scottiſh Crown; the genuine or pretended deſcendents of Donald Bane, the uſurper, and brother to Malcolm Canmore, of King William, of King Alexander the Second, of King David, of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William. Theſe competitors were, Florence Earl of Holland, Robert de Pinkeny, William de Ros, Patrick Earl of March, William de Veſci, Patrick Galythly, Nicolas de Soulis, Roger de Mandeville, John Comyn Lord of Badenoch, John Balliol Lord of Galloway, Robert Bruce Lord of Annandale, and John de Haſtings*.

Temper of the Scottiſh Nation; and other circumſtances favourable to the ambition of Edward.

While theſe competitors urged, or were preparing to urge, their reſpective claims; and the Scottiſh nation were exceedingly divided in their wiſhes, and perplexed as to their choice: the number of the adherents to the King of England, and his influence upon the affairs of Scotland, were continually augmented. Many of the Scottiſh nobles, being of Norman origin, were little concerned about maintaining the ancient independency of the Scots: Some poſſeſſed eſtates in England, of which they

* Walſingham, 59:—Torfœi Hiſt. Norveg. IV. 381.—Rymeri Fœdera II. 575, 576, 577, 578, 579:—Fordun. XI. 1. 2. 12, 13:—Hect. Boeth. Hiſt. LXIV. Folio 303:—Major. LIV. C. 13:—Leſlœi L. VI. P. 221. Buchanan. L. VIII.

they might be deprived, at Edward's pleaſure; but which would be more completely conſolidated with their Scottiſh poſſeſſions, by the union of Scotland into one kingdom with England: Others might poſſibly be ſeduced by penſions and promiſes, to favour the views of Edward: Thoſe who could produce no claims of their own, to the regal ſucceſſion, would be willing to receive for their new Lord, rather one who was already a great monarch, than a perſon ſuddenly exalted to ſovereign power, from among their equals: Even the competitors were naturally led, each to ſtrive to ſtrengthen his own doubtful claim, by winning Edward's favour: Having hitherto been, all, ſubjects of Edward, or other ſovereigns, theſe competitors could ſcarcely feel themſelves diſhonoured by any homage which Edward might demand from him who ſhould obtain the kingdom of Scotland: That part even, of the Scottiſh nation, who were concerned, only to terminate the diſorder and contention of the preſent inter-regnum, and to preſerve their ancient national independency; ſaw no hopes, ſave in yielding to the predominating influence, and accepting the umpirage, of the Engliſh King. By the concurrence or colliſion of all theſe different views and intereſts, the Scots were brought to lay themſelves almoſt at Edward's mercy.*.

Edward

* Fordun. XI. 3, &c.;—W. Hemingford, I. 31.

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A. D. 1291. Congreſs at Norham.

Edward came northwards, toward the Scottiſh border. His barons of Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland; and, among them, John Balliol and Robert Bruce; were ſummoned to attend their ſovereign, at Norham; on the third day of June, in the year one thouſand, two hundred and ninety one; with all thoſe forces which they were, reſpectively, obliged by the conditions of their tenures, to ſupply. The Nobles and Clergy of Scotland, were requeſted to meet him, likewiſe, at Norham, on an earlier day. Aſſembling, in compliance with his ſummons, on the tenth of May, theſe repreſentatives of the Scottiſh nation, there heard the Engliſh King, for the firſt time, openly declare his pretenſions to the ſupremacy of Lord Paramount over Scotland. However overawed by his power, or previouſly won by his artifices; yet, at this declaration, aſtoniſhment and confuſion held them all, for ſome moments, mute. One, bolder than the reſt, at laſt replied; "that, concerning this claim of feudal ſupremacy over Scotland, no determination could be made, while the throne ſhould be vacant." "By Holy Edward, whoſe Crown I "wear," anſwered the Engliſh Monarch, with ſtern impatience, "I will vindicate my juſt rights, or "periſh in the attempt." At their requeſt, he, with ſome difficulty, granted them, a delay till the morrow; that they might, in the interval, conſult together,

together, and determine among themſelves, whether they ſhould then acknowledge him for their Lord Paramount. On the day following, they ſtill declined any definitive anſwer; and obtained a farther delay for the ſpace of three weeks *.

Views with which Edward agreed to the ſecond delay requeſted by the Scots.

Edward, as it ſhould ſeem, now perceived, that this firſt ſtep had been raſhly and unſeaſonably taken. He had probably been deceived by the too flattering repreſentations of his Agents among the Scots; or had, himſelf, too arrogantly preſumed upon his influence over them. But, his Barons, with all the force of the northern counties, were ſoon to join him; and the preſence of an army, thus ready for invaſion, would give new weight to his claims. Intrigue, fear, diſſenſion, wavering uncertainty, might, in the mean time, do much to reconcile or ſubdue the minds of the Scots to his wiſhes. Policy, therefore, more than weakneſs, guided him in the meaſure of granting them time for farther deliberation concerning his demand.

Congreſs, at Upſettlington-Green.

On the ſecond day of June, he again gave audience to the congregated Scots; not, as before, at Norham; but, in a field oppoſite to it, on the

* Fœdera II. 525:—Walſingham, P. 56:—Fœdera II. 543, 544:—W. Hemingford, I. 33.

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Scottiſh ſide of the Tweed. Burnel, Biſhop of Bath, and Chancellor of England, there maintained, for the King his maſter; that the Kings of England were Lords Paramount of Scotland, by a right which they had either actually poſſeſſed, or juſtly claimed, from the moſt diſtant Ages; that, the Scots, although required ſo to do, by King Edward, had produced no evidence, to invalidate his claims upon them; and that, as the claim of the Engliſh Crown to the feudal ſuperiority over Scotland, was thus unconteſted; Edward, in the character of Lord Paramount of the Scots, would proceed to determine among the competitors for their throne. Of theſe competitors, eight were preſent in this aſſembly, in which the lofty pretenſions and reſolutions of the Engliſh Monarch, were thus loudly declared by his Chancellor. Bruce Lord of Annandale, was of the number. All the competitors for the throne, and all the reſt of the Scots who were preſent, either by open avowal, or by tacit conſent, allowed the pretenſions of Edward to be well founded, and accepted his umpirage, in the character of Lord Paramount of the kingdom of Scotland. On the day of theſe remarkable tranſactions, indeed, John Balliol, whether by chance, or artful deſign, was abſent; but, on the following day, he appeared, and acquieſced in the conceſſions which the reſt had made to the claims of the Engliſh Monarch. Burnel then cloſed this part

part of the buſineſs, by proteſting, in Edward's name, that the King of England, thus recognized to be Lord Paramount of Scotland; although he might not, at preſent, urge, yet, did not finally relinquiſh, his right to the abſolute and immediate property of this kingdom*.

Farther tranſactions at Upſettlington-Green.

Edward, thus far ſucceſsful in aſſerting his own ambitious pretenſions; now proceeded towards a judgment among the pretenders to the immediate poſſeſſion of the Scottiſh throne; ſtill artfully combining, however, the ſubmiſſion of the Nation and the Pretenders to his Paramount authority, with the progreſs of the Cauſe in which he was umpire. Again he himſelf proteſted, that the preſent deciſion ſhould, in no way affect his own claim, or the claims of his ſucceſſors, to the immediate ſovereignty of Scotland. The competitors, next, with one accord, affixed their ſeals to a written deed, by which they acknowledged Edward to be Lord Paramount of the kingdom for which they contended; and agreed to abide by his determination. It was then unanimouſly reſolved by the Engliſh King, the competitors, and all the other Scots who were preſent; that, Balliol and Comyn, for themſelves and the reſt of the competitors who might be ſatisfied with their choice, ſhould name forty commiſſioners; that, Bruce ſhould, for himſelf and the competitors acquieſcing in his nomination, name other forty; that,

* Fœdera II. 544, 545. 549:—Dugdale, Chron. ſeries 24:—Fœdera II. 551, &c.

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that, to theſe eighty commiſſioners, the Engliſh King ſhould add twenty-four; and that, theſe hundred and four commiſſioners, thus nominated, ſhould compoſe a Jury, to examine the reſpective and comparative merits of the claims of the different competitors, and to report the reſult of their examination, to Edward, the Lord Paramount and Judge.—The firſt ſtep taken by theſe Commiſſioners, was, to direct the kingdom of Scotland, and its fortreſſes to be delivered into the hands of Edward; agreeably to a conceſſion which the competitors had already made; that, he might have it in his power, to eſtabliſh in the poſſeſſion of them, whoſoever of the competitors ſhould find his claims finally ſuſtained, in preference to thoſe of the reſt. The regents, accordingly, ſurrendered the kingdom; Edward obliging himſelf to make full reſtitution, within two months from the date of his deciſion upon the claims of the competitors; and in the mean time, to waſte no part of the public revenue, except ſo much as might be neceſſary for the unavoidable expences of the government. The caſtles and fortreſſes were, in like manner, delivered up by their keepers; except only the caſtles of Dundee and Forfar; which Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, reſolutely refuſed to ſurrender, till Edward and all the competitors executed a written deed, by which de Umfraville was indemnified for delivering to the Engliſh King, thoſe caſtles which

which he had received in truſt, from the Scottiſh nation. Edward immediately reſtored to the former regents, the cuſtody of the kingdom; added Bryan Fitzallan to their number; and directed them to confide the Chancellorſhip, to Alan, Biſhop of Caithneſs, and Walter of Agmodſham, jointly. The regents, and many of the Barons now ſwore fealty to Edward; a humiliating ceremony! which was performed by Mark, Biſhop of Sodor (or Sudereys) alone, from among the Clergy. The peace of the King, as Lord Paramount of Scotland, was then proclaimed; and this aſſembly, which had been prolonged from the ſecond to the fifteenth day of June, was at laſt adjourned, till the ſecond of Auguſt. Upſettlington-Green was the ſcene of that part of theſe memorable tranſactions which paſſed on the Scottiſh ſide of the Tweed*. Copies of the record of all theſe proceedings, were, by Edward's command, tranſmitted to different monaſteries in England, that they might be engroſſed in the chronicles of contemporary hiſtory, which were written by the monks†.

Artifices of Edward, and baſeneſs of the Scots indignantly expoſed.

Thus; by the vigorous, artful, and diſhoneſt policy of Edward; by the ſordid indifference of the Scottiſh nobles, to the glory and the public intereſts of their country; by the ambitious ſervility and

* Fœdera, II. 551, 552, 553. 529.

† W. Hemingford, T. I. P. 36.

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and mean-ſpiritedneſs of the competitors for the Crown; by the wavering, unwiſe, and divided counſels of even the more generous and patriotic part of the nation; by the general ignorance of both Scots and Engliſh, concerning the truth of the hiſtory of their anceſtors; by the fraud and perfidy of the Scottiſh Clergy, who, alone, could have produced documents, to refute the claims of the Engliſh King; *was* the independency of the Scots betrayed; and Scotland, ſubjected, as a fief, to the Engliſh Crown! Not the victorious eagles of Rome; not the vengeful incurſions of the Provincial Britons; the ſucceſsful arms of the Northumbrian Angles; nor the more compact, irreſiſtible, and impenetrable armies of the firſt Norman Monarchs of England; had been able to ſubjugate the impetuous, reſtleſs, invincible valour of the Scots! If the unfortunate captivity of one of their Kings, had brought the Scottiſh nation to yield up, for a time, the unconquered independency of their kingdom; yet the feudal ſupremacy yielded to Henry the Second, had been, in no long time after, redeemed from his ſucceſſor, Richard. The ſubſequent intercourſe of the Scots with the Engliſh, of the Sovereigns of Scotland with thoſe of England, had been that of equals with their equals, not of vaſſals with their Lords*.

The

* See the firſt Section of each of the foregoing Books.

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Investigation of the claims of the Competitors.

The competitors for the Scottiſh Throne, now preſented their claims to the inveſtigation of the Commiſſioners. On account of the remoteneſs of their conſanguinity to the laſt poſſeſſors; or from the undeniable falſity of the pretences which they had, at firſt, held out; all, but the deſcendents from David Earl of Huntingdon, ſoon withdrew themſelves, or were rejected by the commiſſioners, out of the competition. The deſcendents of the Earl of Huntingdon, were Balliol, Bruce, and Haſtings. Bruce was the grandſon, Balliol and Haſtings were the great-grandſons, of their common anceſtor; himſelf the brother of King William, the grandſon of King David the Firſt. They were deſcended from the Earl of Huntingdon by his three daughters; for, he had left no male iſſue. But, Balliol was the grandſon of the eldeſt ſiſter; Bruce was the ſon of the ſecond; Haſtings, the grandſon of the third. A younger ſiſter and her poſterity could not inherit, in preference to her elder ſiſters, or their offspring: A fieff, eſpecially a royal fieff, or a feudal ſovereignty, was indiviſible: And the pretenſions of Haſtings, were, therefore, without much controverſy, made to yield to thoſe of Balliol and Bruce. The queſtion between the reſpective rights of theſe two competitors, was, indeed, peculiarly difficult of deciſion. *Ought the* Grandson *of the* Elder, *or the* Son *of the* Younger *ſiſter, to inherit in preference?* Such a caſe, in the inſtance

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inſtance of royalty, or a great fieff, had not fallen to be decided, ſince the regular eſtabliſhment of the feudal law in Scotland; and had, perhaps, rarely, occurred to judicial determination, in any of the other countries of Europe. Even after the weightier cauſe of the independency of Scotland had been betrayed; and after the number of the competitors, had been reduced to thoſe two; ſtill, ſo nice and intereſting was the queſtion between them; as to cauſe its progreſs towards deciſion, to be attended by the moſt anxious expectation of all parties*.

Reference to the Engliſh Parliament.

Amidst the general ſuſpenſe and anxiety, the Commiſſioners to whom the examination of the cauſe had been delegated, were induced to declare themſelves unable to diſcern any ſure principles, upon which they might found the deciſion of a matter ſo nice and doubtful. Theologians and caſuiſts were conſulted in vain. Edward, at laſt, ſo managed the affair, as to obtain a reference of it to his own Parliament of England; on account, apparently, of its difficulty; but, in truth, perhaps, for the virtual confirmation of the newly acquired feudal ſupremacy of the kingdom of England, over that of Scotland. At the ſummons of their ſovereign, the Engliſh Parliament aſſembled at Berwick, on

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* Fordun. &c. :—Fœdera II. 578, 579. 581.

the fifteenth day of October, in the year one thousand, two hundred, and ninety-two. And the queſtion concerning the Scottiſh ſucceſſion, was, accordingly, propoſed, by Edward, to their determination*. A. D. 1292.

Principles of deciſion, aſſumed by the Parliament.

They firſt aſſumed theſe, as the principles on which their judgment was to be founded; that, the laws of England and Scotland, were the true rules for the deciſion of the preſent diſpute between the two competitors for the Scottiſh ſucceſſion; but, that, if thoſe laws ſhould afford no rule ſufficiently applicable to the difficulties of the caſe;—then ought the King, with the advice of his nobles, to frame a new law for the occaſion; and that, in general, the ſucceſſion to the Scottiſh throne, ought to be regulated in the ſame manner, as the ſucceſſion to other fieffs, ſuch as earldoms and baronies, which were, by the nature of the tenure by which they were held, indiviſible†.

The cauſe pleaded.

Rules for deciſion, being thus far aſcertained; Bruce and Balliol were admitted to plead their cauſe before the new tribunal. For Bruce it was urged;

* Fœdera II. 582. † Fœdera II. 582.

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inſtance of royalty, or a great fieff, had not fallen to be decided, ſince the regular eſtabliſhment of the feudal law in Scotland; and had, perhaps, rarely, occurred to judicial determination, in any of the other countries of Europe. Even after the weightier cauſe of the independency of Scotland had been betrayed; and after the number of the competitors, had been reduced to thoſe two; ſtill, ſo nice and intereſting was the queſtion between them; as to cauſe its progreſs towards deciſion, to be attended by the moſt anxious expectation of all parties*.

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* Fordun. &c.:—Fœdera II. 578, 579. 581.

the fifteenth day of October, in the year one thousand, two hundred, and ninety-two. And the question concerning the Scottish succession, was, accordingly, proposed, by Edward, to their determination*. A. D. 1292.

THEY first assumed these, as the principles on which their judgment was to be founded; that, the laws of England and Scotland, were the true rules for the decision of the present dispute between the two competitors for the Scottish succession; but, that, if those laws should afford no rule sufficiently applicable to the difficulties of the case;—then ought the King, with the advice of his nobles, to frame a new law for the occasion; and that, in general, the succession to the Scottish throne, ought to be regulated in the same manner, as the succession to other fiefs, such as earldoms and baronies, which were, by the nature of the tenure by which they were held, indivisible†. Principles of decision, assumed by the Parliament.

RULES for decision, being thus far ascertained; BRUCE and BALLIOL were admitted to plead their cause before the new tribunal. For BRUCE it was urged; The cause pleaded.

* Fœdera II. 582. † Fœdera II. 582.

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Arguments for Bruce.

That, Alexander the Second, at a time when he despaired of issue from his own body, had destined Bruce to succeed him on the throne; and that, the Scottish nation had bound themselves by an oath, to preserve the succession to their monarchy, upon the event of the death of Margaret of Norway, to whosoever should then be nearest in consanguinity, to Alexander the Third:

That, in deciding concerning the succession to a kingdom, the law of nature, unrestricted, unperverted, ought to be respected, in preference to all accidental institutions; that, laws regulating the rights of vassals, imposed no obligations upon their Lords; that, although, in the inheritance of private and divisible estates, a preference were usually given to the elder of sister heiresses, yet, in the succession to a kingdom, which was indivisible, it ought not to be so;—and that, the law of nature, thus unfettered, in this instance, by the forms of feodism, clearly recommended Bruce, as the rightful heir of the Scottish Crown:

That, by the ancient custom of succession to the throne of Scotland, the nearest in blood, had been held to be the next heir; and the brother had frequently succeeded his brother; Donald, to Kenneth Macalpine; Ed, to Constantine; Donald Bane, to Malcolm Canmore:

That,

That, in Spain, Savoy, and other foreign countries, there had been inſtances of the ſucceſſion of the ſon of the ſecond daughter, to the throne, in preference to the grandſon of the eldeſt daughter:

That, a female, as unfit for the functions of government, was incapable of inheriting a Crown; that the Crown had been, therefore, without a lawful poſſeſſor, ſince the death of Alexander the Third; and that, as the grandmother of Balliol had been alive, at the time of that event, but not the mother of Bruce,—the latter was, by conſequence, the juſt male heir of the Crown*.

Arguments for Balliol.

To theſe ſpecious pretences, it was anſwered, on the part of Balliol;

That, the deſtination of Alexander the Second in favour of Bruce, could not now regulate the ſucceſſion to the throne; becauſe that King had left heirs from his own body:

That, in the Court of Edward, their Lord Paramount, judgment ought to be given, concerning the Scottiſh ſucceſſion, upon the ſame principles of law, as in the caſe of any other conteſted fieff, ſubject to the Engliſh Crown;

That,

* Fœdera II. 582. 586.

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THAT, if, by ancient cuſtom in Scotland, it might be, that the brother, rather than the ſon of a deceaſed King, ſucceeded him; yet, the example was in oppoſition to the claims of Bruce; for, a man's ſon was nearer to him, in blood, than his brother;—but that, Donald Bane was confeſſed, on all hands, to have uſurped, not to have lawfully inherited, the throne of his brother, Malcolm the Third;

THAT, whatever might be the practice of foreign countries; the ſucceſſion to the Scottiſh throne, was to be regulated, ſolely by the laws of England and Scotland; by which the poſterity of an elder ſiſter, always ſucceeded, in preference to thoſe of her younger ſiſters,—to the fieff of their common anceſtors,—without reſpect to comparative nearneſs or remoteneſs of conſanguinity:

THAT, if a female were, in truth, incapable of inheriting a Crown; then, could the right to the Scottiſh ſucceſſion, be as little tranſmitted by the mother of Bruce, to her poſterity, as by the grandmother of BALLIOL to *hers*; but that, Bruce, by ſwearing fealty to the maiden of Norway, had formerly acknowledged females to be ſufficiently capable of inheriting royalty*.

SUCH

* Fœdera II. 582. 587.

Such were the arguments mutually urged, before Edward and his Parliament, by Bruce and Balliol, in ſupport of their reſpective claims. Had the Scots been left to determine for themſelves, free from foreign influence; the deſtination of Alexander the Second, and the nearer conſanguinity of Bruce, to the Earl of Huntingdon, might perhaps have been more highly reſpected by them, than the feudal order of ſucceſſion. But, Edward and his Parliament were anxious to ſubject the Crown of Scotland to the regulations and reſtrictions of an Engliſh fief. The claims of Bruce were rejected. In vain did Haſtings, and the other remoter competitors ſtrive to renew their pretenſions. A deciſion founded upon laws of ſucceſſion, which ſtill prevail, awarded the Scottiſh Crown to Balliol; and thus ended the competition*.

* Fœdera, II. 859:—It is fortunate, that, the original records of theſe tranſactions have been preſerved: For all the old Scottiſh Hiſtorians have either concealed or miſrepreſented them.

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Chapter III.

John Balliol.

A. D. 1292. Balliol's Acceſſion.

John Balliol, having ſworn fealty to Edward, was crowned as King of Scotland, at Scone, on the thirtieth day of November, in the year one thouſand two hundred and ninety-two. The competitors, and the whole Scottiſh nation, acquieſced, without farther contention, in the judgment of the Engliſh Monarch; and ſubmitted to the fortune of Balliol. *He* was immediately obliged to do homage to the ſovereign Lord, from whoſe hands, he accepted the honours of dependent royalty. Edward then delivered up to his illuſtrious vaſſal, thoſe caſtles, and that cuſtody of the Scottiſh kingdom, which had been proviſionally confided to himſelf, when he was appealed to, as umpire of the competition. The public writings and records, reſpecting the affairs of Scotland, during the interregnum, were, equally, delivered to the officers of its new King. The authority of the regents, ceaſed. From one extremity of the Scottiſh dominions, to the other, all ſubmitted to Balliol, the vaſſal of England*.

At

* W. Hemingford, I. 37:—Fœdera II. 593. 602;—Calendar of Ancient Charters, 332, &c.

Mutual dispositions of the Scots and English.

At this period in the progress of these affairs, all the parties concerned in them, except perhaps the disappointed competitors, had reason to be mutually well satisfied. Edward's ambition had, thus far, been crowned with remarkable and cheaply earned success. John Balliol had been exalted to the sovereignty over those, with whom he was, before, a fellow-vassal; and this, by the event of a competition, in which the claims were numerous, and the advantage of right, extremely doubtful. The Scottish nation saw the succession of their kings, and the order of their government, preserved;—after an alarming failure of the principal branch of their royal family;—without being either wasted by internal anarchy, or overwhelmed by foreign invasion.

Causes of discord between them.

But, this mutual satisfaction and good will, among these parties, were not to endure. Edward was watchful to seize every opportunity for confirming his newly acquired supremacy over Scotland,—by the frequent exercise of its powers. It was natural, that John Balliol and the Scots, should wish to be reminded, as rarely as possible, of the humiliating subjection to which they had submitted themselves.—A citizen of Berwick who conceived himself to have been injured by some judgment of the regency that administered the public affairs of Scotland, during the dependence of the competition;

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tion; carried his complaint and petition for redreſs, not to Balliol, but before Edward; and obtained from Edward, a fair judicial hearing; while Balliol in vain remonſtrated againſt the illegality of withdrawing Scottiſh cauſes from the Courts of the King of Scotland. On every new occaſion, the King of England ſhewed himſelf ſtill eager to exerciſe the authority of Lord Paramount over the

A. D. 1293.

Scots, with increaſing vigilance and ſeverity. Balliol was, himſelf, within a ſhort time, ſummoned to London, to make anſwer to an appeal from a judgment which he had pronounced againſt Macduff, grand-uncle to Duncan, the young Earl of Fife. In the Engliſh Court, Balliol encountered many indignities, when he appeared there, in obedience to this ſummons. He was compelled to deſcend to the humiliation of becoming a party, and to plead his cauſe in perſon, before Edward's tribunal. He would have declined ſubmiſſion to the authority which Edward here aſſumed; but his remonſtrances were haughtily diſregarded, and a partial ſentence was precipitately pronounced againſt him. He was condemned to pay damages to Macduff; and, as a puniſhment for his refuſal to own the authority of Edward and his Court; it was farther decreed, that three of the principal caſtles in Scotland, with the towns lying under their protection, ſhould be taken, at leaſt for a time, into the immediate poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. By ſubmiſſive

miſſive conceſſions, he, with difficulty, obtained a delay of the execution of this ſentence, till he ſhould have conſulted his People in Scotland, and ſhould have received their advice, how to act*.

A. D. 1293. The Scots prepare to throw off the Engliſh yoke.

To Scotland he immediately returned, indignant under diſgrace.—His government, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, had been firm, and wiſe, yet conciliating and popular. Sir William Douglas; for aſſaulting the King's officers, to prevent them from the execution of a ſentence of the regal courts; and for the arbitrary aſſumption of an irregular and tyrannical juriſdiction; had been reduced to ſubmit himſelf to the King's mercy, fined, and impriſoned. Young Robert Bruce, grandſon to the competitor, was enfeoffed in the earldom of Carrick, upon the reſignation of his father, with a facility, and with the waving of ſome formalities, on the part of the King, which ſhewed Balliol to retain no malicious reſentment againſt this rival family. By an adminiſtration conducted in this ſpirit, Balliol had already begun to unite the minds of the Scots, under his authority, and to win their attachment to his perſon. They could not patiently endure to ſee the nation vilified and inſulted, in the character of its monarch. They cheriſhed the

* Fœdera II. 596. 604:—Ryley, 158, 159:—Fordun. XI. 15. &c.

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remembrance, rather of their ancient freedom, than of their late baſe ſubjection to the Engliſh Crown. At the recital of the indignities offered to their Prince, their fury was wound up to the higheſt pitch. Balliol, who was, in his temper naturally mild, and in his preſent circumſtances, not without fears and ſuſpicions, found it more neceſſary to ſoothe, than to inflame them. He once more repaired to the Engliſh Court, before he would dare to renounce the fealty he had vowed to Edward, and to encounter him in war.*.

Irritating meaſures of Edward.

Edward was now on the eve of an hoſtile conteſt with France. For this reaſon, he might probably have been willing to ſoothe the wounded ſpirit of Balliol, and to temporize with the Scots, till ſome more favourable occaſion for finally cruſhing them under his yoke: But, he could not, even for a time, reſtrain his indignation againſt the man who ſo ſoon attempted to aſſert the ancient independency of a kingdom which he had agreed to hold in vaſſalage: He could not believe it to be poſſible for Balliol to neglect availing himſelf of the advantage which the war with France, would neceſſarily afford to him, againſt England: Or, he perhaps deſpiſed the impotent reſentment of Balliol and the Scots; and wiſhed to drive them, at once, to the utmoſt extremities

A. D. 1294.

* Fordun. XI. 18:—Fœdera II. 613, 614:—Hect. Boeth. Lib. XIV. Fo. 304.

mities of hoſtile oppoſition. With whatever views; he either confiſcated,—or obliged the reluctant owner to ſurrender,—all the Engliſh eſtates belonging to Balliol,—as an aid towards the defraying of the expences of the French war; he imperiouſly enjoined the Scots, to detain all ſhips then in their harbours, and to ſuffer none to ſail for foreign parts, till they ſhould receive his further orders; he haughtily ſummoned ſeveral of the Scottiſh Barons to join him in arms, that they might attend him into France, and there fight under his banners †.

Spirit of Edward's government in England.

The pride of paſt ſucceſs, the imperiouſneſs of his temper, and the boldneſs of his ambition, appear to have hurried Edward, about this time, into ſome other raſh and arbitrary meaſures, by which even the loyalty of ſeveral of his principal Engliſh Barons, was ſhaken.

Hoſtile meaſures of the Scots.

Balliol and the Scots, evaded his demands; and inſtantly prepared to throw off his yoke. At the requeſt of the Scottiſh Parliament, their King willingly diſmiſſed from his ſervice, all thoſe Engliſhmen, who, having been placed about him, by Edward, held offices in his Court. Jealous, as it ſhould ſeem, even of the purpoſes of Balliol; the

* Hector Boeth. Lib. XIV. Fo. 304:—Fœdera II. 636. 642, &c.

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the Parliament then nominated a Committee out of their number, whose constant advice was to direct the measures necessary, in this crisis of danger and enterprize, for the public safety. Yet, amidst these bold counsels, it was unaccountably agreed to surrender the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, into the hands of the English, to be possessed by them, as pledges of the fidelity of the Scots, during the war between England and France. But, hardly had this paction been made, when a treaty of alliance, was negotiated and concluded between Philip king of France, and Balliol; who, possessing lands in the French dominions, owed allegiance, as well to this monarch, as to the King of England. Balliol naturally sought the peculiar protection and alliance of that one of his superior Lords, who had it the least in his power to ruin him, and whose interests might even be advanced by *his* aggrandizement: France eagerly encouraged the Scots to harrass England with an invasion, similar to that with which the French territories were over-run by the English: The Scottish nation rejoiced to find an ally which should draw the strength of England, to waste itself abroad, while they might ravage and plunder the country thus left perhaps, without any sufficient force, to repulse their incursions. Upon these motives of reciprocal interest, was this alliance concluded between France and Scotland.

A. D. 1295.

Scotland. The niece of the King of France, was given, *by it*, in marriage, to the ſon of Balliol: Balliol engaged to aſſiſt Phillip, with his whole force, and without ſubſidy, whenever Edward ſhould make war upon France: Philip, on the other hand, agreed to lend powerful and vigorous aid to the Scots, if Edward ſhould invade their territories. This treaty, concluded in the name of the Scottiſh King, was formally ratified alſo by the whole nation. They were not ſlow to fulfil its moſt arduous condition*.

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Treaty between Scotland and France.

A numerous and fierce, but irregular army of Scots; led by the braveſt of their nobles; ſoon paſſed the Engliſh frontier, in hoſtile array, and advanced through Cumberland. Few of the peaſantry could eſcape their deſtroying fury; the flocks and herds became their prey; they burnt down the cottages upon their helpleſs inhabitants; and with ſavage and unſparing rage, carried deſolation and terrour to the walls of Carliſle. Aſſaulting this city, they were firmly reſiſted, at the firſt onſet, by the citizens. But, by the beſiegers, or by ſome accident within, the city was ſet on fire. The defendants, now trembling between aſſault and conflagration, might probably have

Incurſion of the Scots into Cumberland and Northumberland. A. D. 1296.

* Fordun. Lib. XI. 15, 16, 17:—Hector Boeth. Lib. XIV. 304:—Fœdera II. 692. 695, &c.

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have been overpowered by the beſieging army; had not their wives ruſhed into the combat, reanimated their flagging courage, aided their fainting ſtrength, and with thoſe terrible efforts to which deſpair will, ſometimes, for a few moments, excite the ſofter ſex, at laſt repulſed the Scots, and ſcattered them in ſhameful flight. Theſe undiſciplined and cowardly ſpoilers were, however, quickly rallied, and led to ravage the open country of Northumberland. Diſappointment and diſgrace had exaſperated their cruelty. Even the ſanctity of religion, could not now ſave its votaries from their wrath. They burnt to the ground, the nunnery of Lameley, and the monaſtery of Corebridge; but, after an ineffectual attempt to take by ſtorm, the caſtle of Harbottle, again retired in confuſion*.

Scotland invaded by the Engliſh.

It was the news of Edward's approach, at the head of a great army, that made them, thus precipitately raiſe the ſiege of Harbottle-Caſtle. A fleet by ſea, preceded or accompanied, the progreſs of his land-army. Berwick, although promiſed, with other towns, had not yet been given up to the Engliſh. It was held, at this time, for the Scottiſh King; by ſome Flemings, who, having come into Scotland for the ſake of trade, had obtained poſſeſſions and immunities in this town, on the

* W. Hemingford, I. 87. 93:—Matth. Weſtmon. 427:—Fordun. XI. 27.

the condition of fighting in its defence, againſt any hoſtile aſſault; by the native townſmen; and by a conſiderable force from the Scottiſh army; chiefly men of Fife and Lothian, who had gallantly thrown themſelves into the town and its caſtle, to maintain them againſt a ſiege. The Engliſh fleet, to the number of eighteen ſhips, was burnt, or otherwiſe deſtroyed, in attempting to force an entrance into the harbour, or to land the ſoldiers whom it conveyed. But, Edward's land-army were, by this time, at the gates. They aſſaulted, took, and ſacked the town; maſſacring its inhabitants, without diſtinction of ſex or age. For a while the gallant Flemings, from a houſe named the *Red-Hall*, withſtood every effort of Engliſh valour. This houſe was, at laſt, ſet on fire; and they periſhed in the flames. Douglas, who commanded in the caſtle, ſoon after ſurrendered it, by a capitulation; by which he and the other ſurvivors of the garriſon, to the number of two hundred men; having firſt ſworn, never again to bear arms againſt the King of England, were then permitted to march out, and retire, in military order and array. Stratagem and ſkilful conduct probably contributed to this firſt ſucceſs of Edward's expedition, not leſs than the ſtrength and ardent valour of his troops*.

Berwick taken.

2 But,

* Fordun. XI. 20:—Hect. Boeth. Lib. XIV. Fo. 305:—Hemingford, I. 89. 91.

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Balliol and the Scots renounce their homage to Edward.

But, the ſpirit of Balliol and the Scots, was not broken, by the ill ſucceſs of their firſt expedition, or by the loſs of this ſtrong town, the maſter-key of their ſouth-eaſt frontier. They had drawn the ſword; and they ſeemed now to throw away the ſcabbard. Henry, abbot of Aberbrothwick, was diſpatched to Edward, with the perilous commiſſion of notifying to this proud king, thus enraged by oppoſition, and fluſhed with victory; that Balliol diſclaimed his homage; and that the Scots would no longer reſpect him, as Lord Paramount of their kingdom; becauſe Edward had unneceſſarily ſummoned Balliol to his Courts; becauſe he had unjuſtly confiſcated Balliol's Engliſh eſtates; becauſe he had ſeized, by violence, other goods belonging to the Scots and their king; becauſe he had even carried away, and unlawfully detained a number of Scottiſh ſubjects; and finally, becauſe he had ſcornfully diſregarded all Balliol's remonſtrances againſt theſe acts of inſult and oppreſſion. The bold monk, in the diſcharge of this commiſſion, addreſſed himſelf to Edward in perſon. It ſeemed to afford, to this monarch, a new and more plauſible pretext for the invaſion he was proſecuting. "The ſilly traitor!" ſaid Edward, in diſdain, "if he come not to us; "we will go to him!" Balliol's envoy waited no farther reply, but haſtily retired from the King's preſence, and fled with ſpeed, out of the Engliſh camp*.

And

* Fordun. XI. 18:—Fœdera II. 707:—Boeth. XIV. 304.

The Bruces join the Engliſh.

And yet, the Scots were not all unanimous with Balliol, in this defiance of the King of England. In the defection of Balliol, and in the vigour with which Edward proceeded to ſubdue and puniſh his rebellious vaſſal, the Bruces ſeemed to themſelves, to ſee the hopes of royalty, riſe again fair, before them. They were induced to take part with England, againſt Balliol, and againſt the independency of the Scots, with the expectation of yet obtaining from Edward's generoſity, the forfeited kingdom of the rival, whoſe claims had been preferred to theirs. Edward well knew, how to turn theſe hopes to his own preſent advantage, without binding himſelf to gratify them in the end. By means of the Bruces, he contrived to divide the ſtrength of the Scots; and perhaps to ſow diſſenſion and perfidy in their councils. The Bruces, with all their vaſſals, dependents, and adherents, joined the Engliſh; a deſertion, by which the hands of Balliol, and thoſe who remained with him, were greatly weakened*.

The Scots defeated near Dunbar.

Meanwhile, a diviſion of the Engliſh army, was detached, under Earl Warenne, to beſiege the caſtle of Dunbar; which was ſtill in the hands of the Scots who took part with Balliol; although its proprietor, the Earl of March, now followed the

* Fordun. XI. 18, &c.

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banners of the King of England. The whole force of the defenders of Scottiſh independence; again muſtered, after their late diſaſters; advanced, on the other hand; to protect Dunbar; and to give battle to the Engliſh army, ere they ſhould carry the invaſion farther into the kingdom. Already were the garriſon in Dunbar-Caſtle, reduced to ſuch difficulties, or ſo favourably diſpoſed towards the Engliſh; that they had agreed to yield up the caſtle, unleſs relief from Scotland, ſhould, within three days, arrive, to raiſe the ſiege. On the third day, the Scottiſh army appeared on the heights above Dunbar. So advantageouſly poſted, they might have maintained their ground, with victory, againſt the attack of a much ſuperior force. But, ſitting inactive in this ſituation, they could not relieve the caſtle. They ruſhed down, with imprudent precipitation, and in diſorder, to aſſail the beſiegers. Warenne drew out his troops, to receive them. Fatigued and breathleſs by their eager deſcent from the heights; thrown, at the ſame time, into entire confuſion; ill armed, undiſciplined, diſobedient to command; oppoſed by compact, hoſtile ſquadrons, of freſh troops, in compleat armour; and aided by no gallant ſally from the caſtle; the Scottiſh army were quickly routed. Many were ſlain on the field of battle, or in their ſtraggling flight; ſome, among whom was the Earl of Roſs, found a momentary refuge in the caſtle;

caſtle; the Earls of Marre and Athole, with their followers, made their eſcape in good time, out of the battle; Sir Patrick Graham and ſome few others, with a heroiſm which, although hopeleſs of ſucceſs, diſdained the ignominy of retreat; continued deſperately fighting, after they were deſerted by their countrymen, till, at laſt, they fell, in the midſt of their enemies; covered with wounds; yet rather wearied out by their own brave efforts, than laid low by the valour of thoſe who oppoſed them*.

Farther progreſs, and final ſucceſs of the Engliſh Army.

Edward, with the rear-diviſion of his army, came up, on the next day after this battle. Seward, who commanded in the caſtle of Dunbar, was now obliged to ſurrender it to the Engliſh, at diſcretion. With the garriſon, thoſe fugitives from the late battle, who had ſought refuge in the caſtle, fell, likewiſe, into the hands of the victors. In vain did the Scottiſh King and his Parliament, now emit an edict, expelling all Engliſh eccleſiaſtics out of ſuch benefices, as they might hold in Scotland; confiſcate the eſtates of thoſe Scottiſh ſubjects, who took part with England, or ſtood neutral, in the preſent conteſt; and even beſtow upon Comyn Earl of Buchan, the eſtates of Bruce. It was now too late, to rouſe timidity or indifference, to elude perfidy,

* Fordun. XI. 24, 25:—Hector Boeth. XIV. Fo. 305:—Hemingford, I. 94.

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perfidy, or to diſarm rebellion. The Scots who were yet faithful to their country, could not muſter another army, to oppoſe the progreſs of the invaders. Their remaining caſtles were either weak by the nature of their architecture, or weakly garriſoned, or ſlenderly furniſhed with arms and proviſions. From Berwick, the Engliſh army proceeded to inveſt the caſtle of Roxburgh. It was yielded to them, almoſt at the firſt ſummons, by James the Steward of Scotland, who commanded in it; and who now eagerly deſerted the cauſe of Balliol, abjured the Scottiſh alliance with France, and ſwore fealty to Edward. The Engliſh army then advancing, unoppoſed, to Edinburgh; this caſtle was alſo ſurrendered, after a ſhort and feeble defence. Stirling-Caſtle was abandoned by the Scots, even before the Engliſh reached it. Balliol and his adherents continued their flight to the Eaſtern Grampians; perhaps vainly hoping, that the poverty of the country, and the intermediate marſhes, foreſts, hills, and rivers, might, here, at length, ſave them from Edward's farther purſuit. But it ſhould ſeem, that Edward had made proviſion for every exigency. His fleet probably advanced along the coaſt; while his land-army preſſed through the interior country, and overtook the fleeing Scots, at Forfar. The Comyns, the ſtrength of Balliol's party, having here yielded, and made their

A. D. 1296.

their peace with the Engliſh King; Balliol himſelf, ſoon after, ſubmitted to Edward's mercy*.

Submiſſion, depoſition, and character of Balliol.

His pardon was purchaſed by conceſſions the moſt diſgraceful and humiliating; by the reſignation of his kingdom, as forfeited; and the confeſſion, that he was unworthy to reign. He and his ſon were then conducted into England; there, for a while, detained in confinement; but, at length diſmiſſed to France. A man wavering and timid, as John Balliol appears from theſe events, to have been; ſervile in his ambition; having neither the prudence to bear patiently the yoke to which he had ſubmitted; nor ſufficient energy of character to vindicate, through every variety of fortune, the independency of his Crown; the miſerable tool,—at one time, of Edward's ambitious policy,—at another of the proud and furious patriotiſm of the Scottiſh nobles; was altogether unfit to occupy a throne in this turbulent age; to contend with a neighbour, ſo powerful, politic, and warlike; or to maintain the reſtraints of government over a fierce and barbarous people*.

The immediate ſovereignty of Scotland, aſſumed by Edward.

The Crown, thus confeſſedly forfeited by Balliol, devolved upon Edward, by all the laws and examples of feudal ſucceſſion. A ſovereign was, indeed,

* Fordun. XI. 26:—Hect. Boeth. XIV. Fo. 305:—Hemingford 97.

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indeed, in this age, rarely ſecure againſt the reſtleſſneſs or ambition of his great vaſſals: But, it is likewiſe true, that, when a vaſſal ſtood in the way of his ſovereign's ambition, or had provoked his reſentment or jealouſy; it was ſcarcely poſſible for this vaſſal, whatever his humility or prudence, ſo to conduct himſelf, as that he ſhould not ſoon afford legal pretexts againſt him, for the forfeiture of his fieff, and the ruin of his family. Edward could not but have foreſeen, at the time when he artfully reduced Scotland to a feudal dependence on the Engliſh Crown; that pretences would ſpeedily be found, for ſeizing this regal fieff, as a forfeiture, and aboliſhing the Scottiſh monarchy. Bruce quickly learned, that he had little advanced his own hopes by contributing to the overthrow of Balliol. "Have *we* nothing elſe to do, but to "conquer kingdoms for *you*?" ſaid Edward to him, contemptuouſly; when he humbly mentioned his claims to the forfeited fieff; ſince he was at leaſt after Balliol, the next heir to the Scottiſh throne. Edward now eſteemed himſelf ſovereign of the whole iſle; and determined to hold faſt, what his arms and policy had thus gained*.

CHAR.

* Fordun. Lib. XI. Cap. 25, &c.

Chapter IV.

Engliſh Uſurpation; and Efforts of Wallace.

Edward, having thus broken the ſtrength, and conquered the oppoſition of the Scots, purſued not his ſucceſs farther northwards, than to the burgh of Elgin. The Scottiſh Clergy and Barons; terrified by the irreſiſtible progreſs of his arms, and encouraged by his artful and oſtentatious clemency; eagerly followed the example of Balliol and the Comyns, made their ſubmiſſions to the conqueror, and, with a facility little worthy of confidence, acknowledged themſelves, his vaſſals. Returning ſouthward; he ſuffered his ſoldiers to ranſack and pillage the repoſitories of the ancient Abbey of Scone; which had been, long, the appropriated ſcene of the ſolemn inauguration of the ſucceſſors to the Scottiſh ſovereignty; and he ſent from Scone to Weſtminſter, the famous ſtone; a monument of the primary rudeneſs and ſimplicity of the Scots; on which each ſucceeding King had been wont to be ſeated, while the Crown was firſt ſet upon his head; and which the Scottiſh nation are ſaid to have regarded, as a pledge of eternal freedom and empire. Nor is it improbable, that a prince ſo vigilant, ſuſpicious, and politic; remembering

A. D. 1296. Edward returns to Berwick.

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membering the use which had been made of records, forged or genuine, in the late contest for the succession; might, at this time, carry away, or destroy, any writings falling into his hands, at Scone or elsewhere, which seemed to afford evidence of the ancient independency of the Scots, in contradiction to his own pretensions.—His presence not being necessary to reduce the western districts into obedience to his authority; he proceeded, without delay, from Scone, to Berwick*.

Tranfactions in the Parliament, at Berwick.

At Berwick, Edward assembled his Great Council, and applied himself to reward the companions of his success, and to impose laws on the vanquished. However the native sentiments of his heart, might be warped and perverted by ambition, and the practice of reigning; he was not destitute of such virtues as are compatible with the fury of martial heroism, or with the artifices of political cunning. Content with the general and renewed homage of the Clergy and Barons of Scotland; he restored to them, their estates, wherever these had been forfeited, or taken possession of, in his name. To the wives of the prisoners, and the widows of the slain, he allotted a liberal income, out of the estates of their husbands. Even the earldoms,

* Fœdera II. 720:—Fordun. XI. 26:—Hemingford I. 100:—Chart. Scon. 26:—Fœdera II. 728, &c.

earldoms, ſheriffdoms, and other offices of juriſdiction, were, for the moſt part, left in the hands of the ſame perſons by whom their functions had been diſcharged, under Balliol. In reward for the ſervices of the clergy of Durham, who had ſupplied his troops with proviſions, accompanied his expedition, and fervently prayed for its ſucceſs; as well as in ſeeming gratitude to heaven, for victories which were eſteemed to have been gained, under the auſpices of the holy Cuthbert, and other ſaints; Edward now aſſigned to the monks of Durham, an annual penſion of forty pounds, to be paid out of the revenues of Scotland: This penſion, theſe monks were to expend in keeping two large wax-candles continually burning before Saint Cuthbert's ſhrine; and in diſtributing, twice a year, one penny to each of three thouſand poor, who ſhould be invited to their gates. Grimmeſby, a Clergyman, who, in the late expedition, had borne the ſacred banner of Saint John of Beverley, before the victorious army, obtained from the King a ſolemn promiſe of preſentation to the firſt benefice, of twenty pounds, yearly revenue, that ſhould become vacant in the conquered country. De Warenne, de Creſſingham, and Ormeſby, were appointed, reſpectively, Governor, Treaſurer, and Juſticiary of Scotland; and the keeping of the Scottiſh caſtles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Ayr, with authority over the adjacent territories,

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were alſo confided to ſo many Engliſhmen. When the King had thus ſettled the affairs of Scotland; he went ſouthward, whither the concerns of his kingdom called him; and left the government of the newly-acquired dominions, to be adminiſtered by his ſervants*.

Circumſtances unfavourable to the final eſtabliſhment of Edward's authority in Scotland.

But, the ceſſion of their caſtles, the allegiance they had ſworn, the clemency which they had experienced, could not make the whole Scottiſh nation ſit down, content and unreſiſting, under the Engliſh yoke. It was a ſtrong feature in the character of this rude Age, to undertake, and again to renounce the moſt ſolemn engagements, lightly. Superior force might, at any time, command the ſubmiſſion of a weaker adverſary; but, the ſanctions, whether of law, or of religion, were inſufficient to preſerve the fidelity of thoſe whoſe alliance or obedience had been thus roughly won, after the impoſing force was withdrawn. The great Barons of Scotland, not having, themſelves, undiſputed authority over all its meaner inhabitants, could not, however willing, bring theſe to ſubmit, at once, to the Engliſh. Although Edward's ſervants had ſecure poſſeſſion of the principal, fortified places

* Prynne, III. 652:—Fœdera II. 723. 727. 729:—Fordun. XI. 27:—Fœdera, 730, 731, 732:—Hemingford I. 103. 118.

places within the Scottiſh territories; yet, the country ſtill afforded many natural ſtrong-holds and faſtneſſes, from which its native inhabitants might bid defiance to ſtrangers. Even the mutual repugnancy of their tempers and ſpirits, would have been ſufficient, without the co-operation of any other cauſe, to excite diſſenſion between the Scots and the Engliſh, and to drive the former into rebellion, where the latter were the lords. Since the death of Alexander, the Scots had not been regularly obedient to the reſtraints and the ſubordination of government; and they were, therefore, liable to feel themſelves, ſo much the ſooner, galled by a yoke ſeverely impoſed by foreign hands.

Inefficacy of the Engliſh Government; diſcontents; and inſurrections.

Influenced by ſuch circumſtances and paſſions, the Scots were, already, almoſt ripe for a general revolt. Wherever the Engliſh were ſtationed, over the country, tumults and affrays ſoon aroſe between them and its native poſſeſſors. Creſſingham, one of the three principal Engliſh miniſters, was proud, ignorant, and voluptuous: Ormeſby became odious for his cruel ſeverity: Warenne had retired into the North of England. Bands of outlawed Scots wandered through the land; intercepted and ſeized the convoys of proviſions belonging to the Engliſh; and whenever they could come, by ſurpriſe, upon any ſlender or ſtraggling party of Engliſh ſoldiers, furiouſly attacked, and cut them in pieces.

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pieces. The cruelties and precautions of the Engliſh were, every day, multiplied; but, inſtead of repreſſing, ſerved only to ſtrengthen the reſiſtance of the Scots, and to exaſperate their diſcontent. Thoſe who made open oppoſition to the oppreſſors, were ſecretly favoured and encouraged by the reſt of their countrymen, who had not yet dared to aſſert their freedom, with the ſame bold valour. From outlaws and mean perſons, the ſpirit of revolt, ſoon aſcended to thoſe very nobles, who had been lately the moſt forward in their ſubmiſſion to Edward*.

Character of Wallace.

Yet, theſe diſcontents and this oppoſition might have paſſed, without producing any uſeful or permanent effects; had not a Hero ariſen, to vindicate the liberties of Scotland, whoſe rank was ſo mean, and his poſſeſſions ſo ſmall, as to place him below the atmoſphere of thoſe intrigues, by which moſt of the Scottiſh nobles were ſeduced to betray their country for the ſake of private advantage to themſelves; whoſe fortune, powers, and perſonal abilities were, therefore, overlooked, as too inconſiderable to deſerve either to be gained or ſuppreſſed, till he had injured the Engliſh, beyond the hopes of forgiveneſs; whoſe gigantic ſtrength, dauntleſs ferocity

* Hemingford I. 110:—Trivet. 299:—A. Winton, Chron:—Fordun. XI. 28:—Harry's Life of Wallace.

ferocity of ſpirit, unmatched dexterity and ſkill in the exerciſes of war, the generoſity of his nature, and the captivating, yet overawing ſuperiority of his genius, won his countrymen to enliſt themſelves under his protection and command, and at the ſame time enabled him to lead them, with victory, through the moſt deſperate enterprizes againſt their enemies; whoſe ſoul, a ſtranger to ſordid and ſelfiſh cares, burned, only, with inextinguiſhable hatred againſt the Engliſh, with a lofty and paſſionate conſciouſneſs of the powers which he bore within himſelf, with ardour for martial glory, with a love of his country, ſurviving every variety of fortune, and to expire, but with his lateſt breath*.

His family; motives of hatred againſt the Engliſh; and firſt enterprizes.

Such was William Wallace. He appears to have been the ſon of a ſmall landholder, who poſſeſſed the eſtate of Ellerſlee, near Paiſley, in the ſhire of Renfrew. It is probable, that, in the progreſs of his years, he had not greatly exceeded the age of opening manhood, at the time when his country was ſubdued by the Engliſh. Moved by the native boldneſs and gallantry of his ſpirit, by the injuries of his family, or perhaps by the unhappy effects of ſome ſudden and accidental rencounters; he ſoon proved himſelf, the terrible and irreconcileable enemy of thoſe conquerors and oppreſſors

* Fordun. XI. 28:—Blind Harry, paſſim, &c. &c.

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preſſors of Scotland. Many of his firſt deeds of heroiſm, although imperfectly commemorated in the rude and doubtful tale of the minſtrel; have, unluckily, been preſerved by no records, upon the evidence of which, they might be confidently received into the pages of authentic hiſtory. But, within leſs than a year after the late conqueſt, he had made himſelf ſo advantageouſly known to his countrymen; that he was joined by a number of partizans; among whom was Sir William Douglas, with ſome others of conſiderable rank *.

He draws together a numerous army.

In the month of May, in the year one thouſand two hundred and ninety-ſeven, Wallace and his followers made a bold attempt to ſurprize Ormeſby, the Engliſh Juſticiary, while he held his Court at Scone. Ormeſby, with difficulty, eſcaped; leaving Scone and the neighbouring territory in the power of the Scottiſh inſurgents. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, Wallace now purſued, and harraſſed or cut off the Engliſh, wherever they were not ſecure within fortifications impregnable to any force or means of aſſault that he could, as yet, bring againſt them. Every daring and fortunate enterprize in which he engaged, brought more illuſtrious aſſociates to aid his patriot efforts, and new bands of warriours, to fight under his banner.

A. D. 1297.

From

* Fordun. ut ſupra:—Blind Harry, paſſim.

From the north-eaſt, he paſſed towards the weſtern diſtricts of the kingdom; and, as he proceeded, the terrour or glory of his name, hatred of the Engliſh, or perhaps rekindling virtue, added to his adherents, almoſt every diſtinguiſhed character among the Scottiſh nobility; till his force was, at length, augmented to a numerous army. Even young Bruce, the grandſon of the *Competitor*, deceiving the vigilance of the Engliſh, fled from among them; renounced, with indignation, the allegiance he had vowed to Edward; ardently embraced the cauſe of his country, and drew his ſword with Wallace*.

This army purſued by the Engliſh; overtaken near Irvine; and diſperſed.

The Engliſh were awakened by theſe events, from their dream of final conqueſt, and ſecure poſſeſſion. Their King was now abſent, on a fruitleſs expedition to recover the Province of Guienne, in France; which had been lately wreſted from him, by the crafty policy of the French King. But, Warenne, who had been left governor of Scotland, haſtily muſtered a body of troops, and diſpatched them, under the command of Sir Henry Piercy and Sir Robert Clifford, to overtake the Scottiſh inſurgents in their progreſs through the weſtern diſtricts, and to cruſh their rebellion. When

* Hemingford I. 118, 119:—Trivet. 299:—Fordun. XI. 21, &c.

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When the Engliſh came up, the Scottiſh army was advantageouſly poſted on a hill, near the town of Irvine; the whole ſtrength of the inſurrection was there aſſembled, and they out-numbered the enemy; Wallace was at their head, or among their principal leaders; in that courage which conſiſts in fearleſsneſs of perſonal danger, and in fury againſt the foe, they were not deficient. But, few of them were accoutred with compleat, defenſive armour, or wore any formidable weapons for offence; they were diſorderly, and of tempers too impatient, to endure the reſtraints of diſcipline; having aſſembled ſpontaneouſly, they acknowledged no juſt, military ſubordination; in the face of an Engliſh army, ſome of the aſſociates of Wallace, again wavered in their choice between patriotiſm and ſervitude; and amidſt the general confuſion, diſcord, and irreſolution of the Scottiſh troops, Richard de Lundin, one of their chieftains, openly deſerted, with his friends and followers, to the enemy. The example was, in part, quickly imitated by Bruce, the Stewart, Lindſay, and Douglas; who, with their adherents, made ſubmiſſion to Edward's officers, and thus obtained their pardon, and were, once more reconciled to the Engliſh government. For the fidelity of Bruce to this new engagement, ſureties were required; and it was agreed, that he ſhould, aſſoon as poſſible, free theſe, by delivering his daughter Marjory, into the

the hands of the Engliſh, as an hoſtage. Without a battle, the ſtrength of the Scottiſh inſurgents, was, in this manner, broken; and the authority of the Engliſh, irreſiſtibly reſtored in the Weſtern and Southern parts of Scotland*.

Yet, Wallace was ſtill unconquered, unawed, uncorrupted. He had taken no part in thoſe negotiations of his irreſolute and fickle aſſociates; and he ſcornfully refuſed to accede to their treaty. Abandoned by almoſt all his late adherents; he now, thought, only, how he might beſt eſcape the purſuit, and annoy the authority of the Engliſh, by his ſingle exertions; and how he might, moſt ſucceſsfully muſter another force, to beſiege their caſtles, or meet their armies in the field. He retired, through Lennox, to the northern provinces of the kingdom, lying beyond the iſthmus between the Forth and the Clyde. New followers ſoon joined him; he was ardently admired, as the only faithful defender of the liberties of his country; thoſe by whom he had been forſaken, were execrated, as its cowardly betrayers. Even the vaſſals and dependents of Douglas, and the other barons who had made their peace with Edward's miniſters, ſoon returned, to follow Wallace, in con-

Heroic conſtancy of Wallace to his country's cauſe.

* Hemingford I. 122, 123, 124:—Fœdera II. 774, 775, 772. 782.

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tempt of the fealty claimed by their lords. The authors of the treaty, unable to fulfil their engagements, and not finding themſelves in ſafety among their enraged countrymen, ſurrendered their perſons into the hands of the Engliſh. Wallace, after executing ſeveral leſs important enterprizes, led his increaſing forces, to beſiege the town of Dundee*.

Warenne, Creſſingham, and the other Engliſh leaders, in the mean time, prepared to purſue Wallace into the North; and advanced, with their army, towards Stirling. At the news of their approach; Wallace, relinquiſhing the ſiege of Dundee, haſtened to guard the important paſs between the Ochil Hills, and the Grampian Mountains; and while the Engliſh army came on, to croſs the Forth, by the bridge at Stirling, they ſuddenly beheld the defenders of Scottiſh freedom, poſted on a riſing ground near the Abbey of Cambuſkenneth, and ready to oppoſe their paſſage. Warenne was willing again to try the ſame arts of negotiation by which his lieutenants had broken and diſperſed the Scottiſh army, at Irvine. But, Wallace was not now, as then, ſurrounded by perfidious and wavering barons, by whom his firm purpoſes might have been thwarted or controuled. Sir Andrew Moray

Wallace and his followers meet the Engliſh at Stirling.

* Hemingford I. 124:—Trivet. 300;—Fordun. XI. 29.

Moray of Bothwell, the moſt eminent among the companions of his preſent enterprize, was ſteady and ardent in his patriotiſm, as Wallace; incapable of abandoning his friend and leader; or of betraying the cauſe of his country. To two friars, ſent by Warenne, to offer fair conditions of peace and mutual reconciliation, the only anſwer of Wallace and his followers, was; "Go, tell your "maſters, we came not here, to treat, but to fight, "and ſet Scotland free: Let them *advance*: We "bid them defiance." It was peculiarly fortunate, that the Scots, impatient as they were, for battle, could, for this once, be perſuaded to await the attack of the enemy; without ruſhing, with mad precipitation, to begin the combat under local diſadvantages. At the entrance of a paſs between mountains; on a riſing ground; having, on their front, a river, which could not be readily croſſed, otherwiſe, than by a narrow, wooden bridge; the Scots poſſeſſed advantages of poſture, more than ſufficient to compenſate their inferiority in numbers, diſcipline, and martial equipment*.

The Engliſh commanders, diſappointed in their attempts to diſperſe the Scottiſh force by negotiation; now heſitated and diſagreed in their counſels;

* Hemingford I. 126, 127:—Trivet. 307:—Fordun. XI. 29.

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Councils of the Engliſh Leaders.

ſels; not knowing, how to draw the Scots into an equal engagement; yet being indignant at their defiance; and impatient to anſwer it with defeat and ſlaughter. The Engliſh army, if it ſhould attempt to march along the bridge, in a ſingle file, in order to attack the Scots in their camp; would thus forfeit the benefit of its ſuperiority in numbers; and would, moſt probably, periſh, piecemeal, by the fury of the Scots. It would be diſgraceful; perhaps, for want of forage and proviſions, impoſſible; for the Engliſh, to remain inactive at Stirling, till Wallace's army ſhould be diſſolved by diſſenſion or hunger. Were the Engliſh leaders to withdraw their forces from Stirling, and to endeavour to penetrate into the North of Scotland by ſome different paſſage; Wallace might then ruſh into the ſouthern counties; waſte and occupy theſe, at his pleaſure; and preclude the return of the Engliſh, till they ſhould fall an eaſy prey to their enemies, among the unknown marſhes and mountains of the Scottiſh Highlands. Richard de Lundin, now with the Engliſh, and faithful to their intereſts, propoſed to conduct a part of the army up the bank of the river, to a ford, by which they might paſs, in a body, and with little danger. But, he was a Scot; and not to be truſted, in his own country, and ſo near to his countrymen. Deliberation proved fruitleſs. Deſpiſing enemies whom they had been, for ſome time, accuſtomed to conquer;

quer; and urged on, by the ignorant and fooliſh impetuoſity of Creſſingham; the Engliſh, at laſt, determined to file along the bridge, at whatever peril, and to attack the Scots in their camp*. Sect. I. Ch. IV.

Battle of Stirling.

As the Engliſh forces, with Creſſingham at their head, began to croſs the river; Wallace ſlowly led down his troops, and advanced to meet them. Ere half the Engliſh army could paſs the bridge; while thoſe who had paſſed, were ſtill on unequal ground, in diſorder, crowded together, and unable to uſe their arms; the Scots ruſhed upon them, with an onſet, irregular, but inconceivably impetuous. The confuſion of the Engliſh; now, receding at one end of the bridge; at the other, advancing; here ſtruggling to expand themſelves into the order of battle; there, already turning their backs to the furious foe; expoſed them, helpleſsly, to almoſt unreſiſted ſlaughter. The boaſting Creſſingham was among the firſt that fell; and the Scots even wreaked their rage, in hacking and mangling his lifeleſs corpſe. Amidſt the tumult of the battle, the wooden bridge was broken down; and the Engliſh who had croſſed the river, were thus left a prey to the Scots, without the poſſibility of eſcape; while Warenne and that part of his army, which remained on the oppoſite bank, could only A. D. 1297.

*. Hemingford:—Trivet:—Fordun. ut ſupra.

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only behold the carnage, with ſorrow, terrour, and unavailing rage. Their predominant emotions were, of terrour. They burnt their tents; abandoned their baggage; and haſtened back, in diſorderly flight, to Berwick *.

Death of Moray of of Bothwell.

The Scots atchieved this ſignal victory, without ſuffering any conſiderable loſs in the battle. But, among the few who fell, was the brave Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the moſt faithful companion of Wallace's heroic enterprizes†.

Conſequence of the victory at Stirling.

The news of the diſcomfiture and flight of the Engliſh army, was ſoon known throughout Scotland. All who had hitherto borne the Engliſh yoke, without reſiſtance; or had been but ſecretly or partially, the partizans of Scottiſh freedom; now took arms; and eagerly haſtened to join the heroes who had conquered at Stirling; or ſtormed thoſe caſtles which were ſtill held for Edward, in different parts of the kingdom. Wallace waſted no time in idle triumph, or in vain lamentation for his fallen friends. From Stirling, he impatiently returned, to renew the ſiege of the caſtle of Dundee. It was ſurrendered by the garriſon, aſſoon as they ſaw him and his victorious followers, again appear before its ramparts,—with weapons ſtill red with the blood of *their* ſlaughtered countrymen. The other caſtles and ſtrongholds, were, in a like manner,

* Hemingford I. 127. 130:—Fordun. XI. 29.

† Fordun. XI. 29.

manner, recovered; and their Engliſh garriſons were maſſacred, made priſoners, or driven away in terrified flight. Scotland was thus, once more freed from the tyranny of a foreign maſter; and the power of its government, remained, for a time, with Wallace and his followers, its deliverers. Wallace; by a ſort of irregular aſſumption or appointment, founded in the exigencies of the time; and in the plauſive conſent of thoſe who had fought and conquered with him; became, in name and in authority, Regent of the kingdom; while he and the whole nation ſtill profeſſed allegiance to the exiled Balliol; and declared, that their conteſt was not leſs for his rights, than for their own*.

The Scots invade England.

But, theſe gallant votaries of what they conceived to be Freedom, now ſaw their country terribly afflicted, and themſelves in danger of periſhing, by a famine,; the neceſſary conſequence of the continued devaſtations of war, in a land, naturally ſo little fertile, and ſo uncultivated. To ſupply their wants, therefore, out of the ſpoil of their enemies; and to retaliate the miſeries which had been inflicted on themſelves; they, with one accord, determined to invade England. Berwick was quickly retaken. And, almoſt all the military force that Scotland could muſter, pouring, furious and unreſiſted, into the northern counties of England; did not merely ravage theſe diſtricts by a haſty and paſſing

* Fordun. XI. 29:—Anderſon, Diplomata, Plate 44.

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paſſing incurſion; but, like an hoſt of locuſts, conſumed every thing over the face of the country, which could ſerve for ſuſtenance to man or beaſt; nor returned home, till they had reduced it to a ſtate of extreme deſolation. Wallace, with little ſucceſs, ſtrove to reſtrain his followers and fellow-ſoldiers, from outrages againſt women, children, and eccleſiaſtics. His protection was inſufficient to ſave perſons or property from the fury and rapacity of his troops, unleſs where he was, himſelf, immediately preſent. "Only with me;" ſaid he to the monks of Hexham, complaining of the rapacious violence of the Scottiſh army; "only with "me, can you be ſafe." But, Edward was purſuing his wars in Flanders; and, no Engliſh army came, to meet, and drive away the ſpoilers. After deſolating the Engliſh territories, as far ſouthward, as he could prudently venture to advance; Wallace led his forces back into Scotland, in the exultation of triumph, and with abundance of booty*.

A D. 1298.

The Engliſh prepare to invade Scotland.

In the mean time, Edward returned from Flanders; weary of an expedition, of the objects of which, he had been diſappointed; and called home, by the cries of his Engliſh ſubjects, to protect them againſt the inroads of the Scots. He, in vain, ſummoned the Scottiſh Barons to attend a Parliament, which he appointed to be held in the city of York. Even his Engliſh Barons, taking advantage

* Hemingford I. 131. 136, &c.

vantage of the preſent ſituation of his affairs, extorted from him, in this Parliament, ſome conceſſions, favourable to their liberties, by which his pride was, not a little, mortified, and his power reſtricted. But, after theſe tranſactions, the Engliſh eagerly ſeconded the indignation of their King. Another conqueſt of Scotland, was paſſionately determined upon. An Engliſh army of more than ſeventy thouſand infantry and horſemen, ſpeedily advanced, with their Sovereign at their head, to Berwick. While this main army was aſſembling, or advancing on its march; a ſeparate detachment, which the Earl of Pembroke had conducted by ſea, to the coaſt of Fife, was there defeated by Wallace*.

The Scots make ready for their defence.

In the mean time, the Scots, aware of Edward's approach, with a mightier force, endeavoured to muſter all their ſtrength, to oppoſe him. The moſt eminent of the barons, who now prepared, with Wallace, to repulſe this formidable invaſion, were, young Comyn of Badenoch; Bruce who had once more deſerted from the Engliſh, to the cauſe of his country; Stewart of Bonkill; Graham of Abercorn; and Macduff, grand-uncle to the young Earl of Fife, and formerly, the adverſary of Balliol. Bruce, with his vaſſals, held for the Scots, the important caſtle of Ayr. The reſt haſtily drew together their followers, in the interior diſtricts†.

* Hemingford I. 144, 145. 159:—Arnaldi Blair Relationes.

† Heming. I. 166:—Trivet. 314:--Winton;--Blind Harry, &c.

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Progress, and difficulties of the English King.

Edward came onwards, with his army. The castle of Dirleton, alone, offered a vigorous resistance to his progress through the south-east counties. It at length, surrendered to Beck, Bishop of Durham, to whom its siege had been committed. But, Scotland, laid waste, equally by its native inhabitants, and by the invaders, could no longer afford sustenance to the English host. Until his ships, laden with provisions, which followed around the western coasts, should arrive in the Frith of Clyde; Edward was obliged to halt on his march, and to make his troops encamp at Kirkliston, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow. Here, the insubordination produced by the general dread, that, while faint with hunger, they might fall a prey to the enemy; and the mutual dislike and animosity prevailing between the Welsh and the English soldiers; were suddenly inflamed to mutiny and tumult; in which the Welsh massacred, among others of the English, no fewer than eighteen ecclesiastics; the English opposed, and retaliated the outrage, with a much greater slaughter of the Welsh; and the Welsh then withdrew, in anger, from obedience to the King's orders, and from the common camp. Edward; seeing his army thus disorderly and disunited; and being disappointed of the arrival of his ships; was reluctantly compelled to command a retreat. But, while he issued his orders for this purpose, news was brought to him, that the

Mutiny in the English camp.

A. D. 1298.

the Scots had advanced, in great force, to Falkirk*.

Retreat, with an hoſtile army hanging upon his rear; who were peculiarly expert in deſultory and irregular fight; would be, inevitably accompanied with all the ruin and diſhonour of an entire defeat. It was highly probable, that, in a pitched battle, the imperfect armour, the raſh impetuoſity, and the diſorder of the Scots, might yield to the Engliſh army, even in its preſent temper and condition, no difficult victory over them. In the circumſtances in which Edward ſaw himſelf placed, any thing not madly deſperate, was to be tried; in preference to a flight; by which, the hopes of Scotland, would have been loſt to him; by which, even in England, the previous diſcontents of his ſubjects, might have been exaſperated and encouraged, to open and general rebellion.

Conſiderations upon which Edward hazarded a battle.

Upon ſuch conſiderations, Edward was induced to countermand the orders for retreat, and to turn his march againſt the enemy. On a heath near Linlithgow, his ſoldiers, halting, paſſed the night, under arms. While he himſelf ſlept on the ground, beſide his war-horſe; the animal, being accidentally ſcared, ſuddenly ſtruck its maſter, with ſuch violence,

* Trivet. 312:—Hemingford I. 161, 162.

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lence, as to break two of his ribs. An uncertain alarm was immediately ſpread through the army; and confuſion enſued, which might perhaps have hurried them into panic flight; had not Edward, with intrepid promptitude of mind, and with a magnanimous diſregard of bodily pain, mounted his horſe; ſhewed himſelf, as uninjured, to his troops; and led them inſtantly, on, to battle*.

He leads his army, to attack the Scots.

Force and order of the Scottiſh army.

The Scots were already drawn out, in battle-array, on a ſtony field, near Falkirk. Wallace, and the principal barons who ſtill adhered to him, were at their head. The ſpearmen were ſcattered over the field, in little circular troops, which extended, each, around it, a terrible number and length of pointed weapons. The archers were diffuſed through the intermediate ſpaces, among the troops of ſpearmen. Before, was a moraſs. Behind, they had a reſerved force of a thouſand cavalry. "I have brought you to the ring; dance, "if you can;" was the ſhort, ſoldierly addreſs, with which Wallace, chidingly, encouraged his troops to generous and obſtinate valour, in the beginning combat. His heroic ardour, and his encouragements, were rendered unavailing; by the inferiority of his force; by the diſſenſions in his army; and particularly by the jealouſy with which

* Hemingford I. 163, &c.

which he himſelf now began to be regarded by moſt of the Chieftains *.

The ſtrength of the army which Edward led on, againſt the Scottiſh ſpear-men and archers, was compoſed of cavalry. He divided them into three diviſions or columns; one, commanded by Bigot, Earl Marſhal; a ſecond, by Beck, Biſhop of Durham; the third, under the immediate orders of the King himſelf. Bigot, urging on, with the foremoſt diviſion, to attack the Scots, was ſuddenly ſtopped ſhort, by the impaſſable moraſs, behind which they had poſted themſelves. In the mean time, Beck, with *his* column, avoiding the moraſs, furiouſly attacked the left flank of the Scottiſh infantry. While theſe made a gallant reſiſtance to the onſet; they were aſſailed, on the right, by the troops under Bigot; which had, by this time, likewiſe found their way round the moraſs. The Scottiſh troops of ſpear-men long kept their ground, impenetrable by any efforts of the Engliſh; the archers, with their long bows, made a dreadful havock; but, their cavalry, terrified by the numbers, and the dreadful aſpect of the full-armed cavalry of the Engliſh; inſtead of ſupporting the infantry, when they ſaw them ſorely preſſed;

The battle. July 22d.

* Hemingford I. 163:—Walſingham 75:—M. Weſtm. 451:—Fordun. XI. 132:—Wyntowne, B. V.

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sed; withdrew, with base cowardice or treachery, from the field of battle. At the same time, the whole English army came up, to support their two columns which had begun the engagement. All the efforts of Wallace and his brave infantry, were overpowered by numbers. Stewart, Macduff, and Graham, fell on the field of battle. Great was the carnage of their followers, who fought around them, and, even strove to protect their bleeding bodies, after they had fallen. Wallace, when he saw every hope lost, endeavoured to rally the broken remains of his army; and conducted them by the way of Stirling; which they burnt; beyond the Forth. This victory; gained by the English, without the loss of any distinguished person on their side, except Le Jay, Master of the English Templars,—and the Prior of Torphichen; made them masters of all the southern, and midland districts of Scotland*.

The English victorious.

Yet, the discomfiture and dispersion of the Scottish army, left the English as much in want of provisions and other necessaries, as they had been, before. The expected fleet did not arrive, with supplies. After proceeding so far into the western districts, that Bruce, dreading his approach, burnt the castle

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* Hemingford I. 164, 165:—Fordun. XI. 34:—Trivet. 313:—M. Westm. 431.

caſtle of Ayr, and retired precipitately into Carrick; Edward was, then, obliged to return ſouthward, leaſt his victorious army ſhould periſh by famine. As he paſſed into England, he waſted Annandale, the paternal eſtate of the Bruces; and took, and garriſoned their caſtle of Lochmaben. But, Galloway, and the whole country beyond the Friths of Forth and Clyde, remained ſtill in the poſſeſſion of thoſe Scots who refuſed ſubmiſſion to Edward's authority, and reſiſted his arms*.

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They return into England.

While Edward was buſied in England; with difficulty, reſtraining or ſoothing the diſcontents of his ſubjects, and enticing them by laviſh grants of lands in Scotland, to aid him in the farther conqueſt of this kingdom: The Scots, on their part, again rallied, to defend their liberties, and to expel the Engliſh out of their country. Unfortunately, Wallace; overborne by the jealouſy of rival Barons; having loſt, by the fate of war, all the moſt faithful and moſt eminent among his perſonal friends; diſguſted with the commanders of the cavalry, by whom he had been deſerted in the battle of Falkirk; and loſing, in conſequence of miſcarriage, that popularity which he had gained by ſucceſs; from this time ceaſed to enlighten the counſels, and direct the arms of his countrymen. Comyn, Bruce, and Lamberton Biſhop of St Andrews, aſſumed the authority of guardians of Scotland.

The Scots renew the war.

A. D. 1299.

* Hemingford I. 166.

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land. But, the hero, whose exertions had first roused his countrymen to resist the English with the ardour of patriotism, and the erect spirit of independence; was left to skulk alone, in solitary wilds or fastnesses; and to cherish his love of his country, and inextinguishable hatred of its oppressors, in a condition of hopeless dereliction *.

Siege and capture of Stirling-Castle.

The first enterprize of the new Regents, was directed against the castle of Stirling. The town had, indeed, been burnt by the Scots, as they fled from Falkirk; but, the castle, not to be demolished by such hasty violence, had been, soon after, seized, and garrisoned by the English. It was peculiarly important, as the master-key of the principal pass into the Scottish Highlands. Edward, therefore, no sooner received notice, that it was besieged, than he anxiously endeavoured to muster a new army, which he might lead into Scotland, to raise the siege. He was at Berwick; where he had appointed the general rendezvous; when his Barons refused to follow him; because it was then, in the beginning of winter, too late in the year, for an expedition into the dreary regions of Scotland; and also, as it should seem, because they had reason to fear, that Edward's success in subduing the

A. D. 1299.

* Trivet. 334:—Fœdera II. 859:—Wyntowne:—Blind Harry:—Fordun. XI. 35, &c.

the Scots, might ſerve, at laſt, to arm him againſt their own liberties, Thus vexatiouſly thwarted in his purpoſes; he was compelled to ſend orders to the garriſon in Stirling-Caſtle, to capitulate with the beſiegers. The Scots, poſting an army at Torwood, to intercept any force that might advance from England, had, from the firſt attack, urged on, the operations of the ſiege, with the utmoſt vigour. Nevertheleſs, the garriſon, although conſiſting but of a ſlender troop of ſixty archers, held out till they were reduced to the moſt diſtreſſing extremities; and, when they, at laſt ſurrendered the caſtle, obtained from the victors, no diſhonourable terms*.

Another invaſion of Scotland.

IN the enſuing ſummer of the year one thouſand and three hundred, Edward ſummoned his Barons with their vaſſals, to attend him on an expedition into Scotland. He entered it, by the weſtern confines, ravaged Annandale, and advancing to Dumfries, there accepted the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of Galloway. But, the principal force of the Scots, now aware of their inability to contend with the Engliſh army in equal battle, came not down againſt them, from their faſtneſſes and mountains. Want of proviſions, the refractory ſpirit of his followers, or the neceſſities of his other affairs, prevented

A. D. 1300.

* Trivet. 316:—Fœdera II. 859:—Fordun. &c.

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prevented Edward from puſhing his conqueſts, at at this time, to the remote extremities of the country. The Scots made him offers of their feudal homage, on condition, that he ſhould replace John Balliol on the Scottiſh throne, ſhould evacuate their territories, and ſhould reſtore to thoſe who had taken part againſt him, their confiſcated lands. He heard theſe propoſals with indignation. But, while he heſitated in his choice of meaſures; a meſſage from the Pope, to his aſtoniſhment, warned him to depart immediately out of Scotland; becauſe this kingdom was ſo far from being rightfully ſubject to the Engliſh Crown; that it was, in truth, a fief belonging to the Papal See. This claim; perhaps urged very ſeaſonably for both Edward and the Scots; gave occaſion to a truce between the invader and the invaded; in the negotiation of which, the good offices of the French King, were alſo, happily employed*.

Intrigues at Rome; and interference of the Pope.

It appears to have been by the intrigues of the Scottiſh Clergy, aided by the influence of France, that the Pope was induced to interfere in the political concerns of Scotland. The authority of the See of Rome had been remarkably exerciſed in the caſes of Edward's predeceſſors, Henry the Second and John; and the memory of the efficacy with which,

* Trivet. 316:—Fœdera II. 868:—Wyntowne, &c.

which, it had been in thoſe inſtances exerted, might now compel even the bold ſpirit of Edward, to ſhrink and recede before it. Mere paternal kindneſs, or Chriſtian benevolence, however, could not, in a Court ſo ſkilfully and deeply ſelfiſh as that of Rome, have had influence ſufficient to procure the earneſt conciliatory interference of the Holy See, in the preſent conteſt between Edward and the Scots. Boniface, the Romiſh Pontiff was, therefore, to be perſuaded, that Scotland having been miraculouſly converted to Chriſtianity, by the divine virtue of the relics of St Andrew, had, conſequently, become a part of the patrimony of the Church. Many of the claims upon which the Biſhops of Rome had uſurped the better part of their poſſeſſions and privileges, reſted upon pretences ſcarcely more juſt or plauſible. He had accordingly diſpatched his commands to Edward, with the eagerneſs of a perſon deeply intereſted in the iſſue, and with the arrogance of one who had power to enforce obedience. The truce, ſeemingly in compliance with theſe commands, granted to the Scots, was perhaps not more uſeful to them, than to the Engliſh King. But, the ſubſequent labours of Edward and the Engliſh Parliament, to refute the pretenſions of the Pope and the Scots; although tedious and troubleſome; were abſolutely neceſſary; if not to convince the Holy Father of the groundleſſneſs of his claims; yet, to ſatisfy the

A. D. 1300.

Engliſh

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Engliſh Clergy, and the reſt of Edward's ſubjects, that he was not impiouſly riſing in rebellion againſt the Father of the Chriſtian world, or ſacrilegiouſly violating the rights of the Church*,

When Edward, with the help of his Parliament, had made anſwer to the claims of Rome, and the aſſertions and reaſonings upon which theſe were founded; by aſſertions no leſs bold and untrue, and by reaſonings equally weak and inconcluſive; he then impatiently renewed his preparations againſt the Scots; with a reſolution again to invade them, aſſoon as the truce ſhould have expired; and not to return, without having accompliſhed the final conqueſt of Scotland. About midſummer, he entered Lothian. Having proceeded, without oppoſition to Linlithgow, he there, for a time, fixed his head-quarters. The hopes of winning the ſubmiſſion of the Scots by gentle meaſures; or the fear of dangerouſly entangling his troops among the unknown mountains, vales, and marſhes of the weſtern Highlands; or perhaps other cauſes; prevented him from advancing farther; till a truce was again mediated by the intervention of the French, between him and the nation whoſe country and liberties he had ſo often, and hitherto, ſo fruitleſsly invaded. While he kept his army at Linlithgow,

Another ineffectual invaſion of Scotland.

A. D. 1301.

* Fœdera II. 844:—Fordun. XI. 35:—Trivet. 319.

Linlithgow, he erected, there, a fortreſs. His cavalry ſuffered exceedingly by the ſeverity of the climate, and from want of forage, if not from any rencounters with the enemy*.

The Pope interferes in behalf of Edward.

By whatever means; whether by the powerful arguments, or the more powerful gold and intrigues of the Engliſh monarch; the Roman Pontiff was, in the mean time, brought to doubt of the validity of his own claims to the ſovereignty of Scotland; and even of the reaſonableneſs of the obſtinate oppoſition made by the Scots, to the authority over them, which was arrogated by Edward. He addreſſed the Scottiſh Biſhops, in a tone of bitter reproach; reprimanding particularly Wiſheart, Biſhop of Glaſgow, as *a rock of offence*, between the Scottiſh nation and the king of England; and enjoining them all, under pain of his Holineſs's diſpleaſure, to promote the national peace†.

A. D. 1302.

The ſecond truce expired; and hoſtilities were mutually renewed. Edward did not, himſelf, at this time, come upon another expedition into Scotland; but, diſpatched hither, an army, under the command of John de Segrave. While this general advanced through the ſouth-eaſt counties; the

* Hemingford I. 196:—Trivet. 322:—Fordun. XII. &c.

† Fœdera II. 904, 905.

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Succeſs of the Scots at Roſlin.

the Scots, gaining intelligence of his movements, prepared to meet him. The Engliſh army marched in three columns; each at ſuch a diſtance from the reſt, that they could not, all, inſtantly join, and act together, upon any ſudden alarm. At A. D. 1302. Roſlin, near Edinburgh, the foremoſt of theſe columns, was ſurprized, at day-break, by the appearance of a body of armed Scots, of whoſe approach the Engliſh had been wholly unaware. Theſe Scots were a ſmall, but ſelect band, led by Comyn the Regent, and Simon Frazer. At the firſt furious onſet, they routed, with great ſlaughter, the Engliſh column by which they were oppoſed; Seagrave himſelf, its leader, and the commander of the whole army, being, among others, grievouſly wounded. The ſecond column came up, in terrour and confuſion, in conſequence of the defeat of the firſt; and having no diſtinct information concerning the numbers and intentions of the enemy. The Scots, fluſhed with victory, aſſailed this ſecond hoſt with new impetuoſity. Their fortune was the ſame, as before; this column was alſo routed and diſperſed. The third column, now informed of what had paſſed, by fugitives from the two routed diviſions, wiſely halted on their march; and, inſtead of raſhly hurrying forward to avenge their fellow-ſoldiers, and regain the glory of the day; were content with receiving thoſe who fled, and with ſtaying the purſuit of the Scots, by the menacing

menacing aſpect which they preſented at a diſtance. Thus were Edward's hopes, and the fears of the Scots from this expedition, entirely fruſtrated*.

Had it not been for the continual diſtractions occaſioned to him, by the affairs of his dominions on the continent; Edward would no doubt, have proſecuted the conqueſt of Scotland, during theſe years, with more earneſt perſeverance; and he might, probably, ere this time, have triumphed over all the efforts of the generous defenders of Scottiſh liberty. Nor is it likely, that the Scots; however brave and patriotic, or however favoured by the inacceſſible nature of their remoter provinces; would have ſo long withſtood the arms and the policy of Edward; if they had not been, from time to time, encouraged by the promiſes, and protected by the interceſſion of France. An alliance with the Scots, ſerved to the French Kings, to counterbalance, in ſome meaſure, the influence which the monarchs of England, poſſeſſing extenſive fieffs in France, were hence enabled to exert, in oppoſition to the authority of the French Crown. To the French, it was little leſs important, than to the Scots themſelves, that Scotland ſhould not be ſubjugated by the Engliſh. Thoſe two nations had one

Influence of France, upon the progreſs of the war.

A. D. 1303.

* Hemingford I. 198:—Trivet. 336:—Fordun. XII. 2, &c.

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one common intereſt, as the enemies of England. Commiſſioners, therefore, from the Scottiſh nation, at this time, reſided at the Court of France, to ſee that the intereſts of Scotland might be duly comprehended in all the meaſures of hoſtility or negotiation which the French King ſhould purſue, in regard to Edward. Yet, the predominating genius and fortune of Edward, ſo far prevailed, that a treaty of peace was now concluded between him and Philip, in which the intereſts of the Scots, were wholly overlooked, and their name not even once mentioned. Upon this event, the diſpatches of their Commiſſioners, could only conſole them with an aſſurance, that the King of France, notwithſtanding appearances, would not fail to intercede for them, with the King of England, to procure them a truce, and, finally, an happy peace. Theſe Commiſſioners were themſelves cruelly deceived. It was, in order to bend the whole force of his empire againſt the Scots, that Edward had made peace, at this time, with France. The French had been compelled, baſely to ſacrifice their Allies, to the care of their own ſafety. The completion of this treaty of peace between France and England, was the prelude to the abſolute conqueſt of Scotland, by Edward*.

* Fœdera II. 923. 929, &c.

New expedition into Scotland.

He had no ſooner compoſed his differences with the French King, than he muſtered all the military force of all his dominions, to march againſt the Scots. They durſt not meet him in the open field. They had few caſtles, except that of Stirling, to block up his paſſage from the ſouthern to the northern extremity of their territories. He proceeded, without oppoſition or moleſtation, to Brechin-Caſtle; having, as it ſhould ſeem, avoided the paſs by Stirling; and croſſed the Forth, at ſome diſtance below*. Brechin-Caſtle was defended by a brave garriſon, under the command of the gallant Sir Thomas Maule. It was cloſely beſieged, and aſſaulted with all the impetuoſity that could be exerted by a numerous army, and ſuch military engines, as the art of war employed in this age. In the hotteſt fury of the aſſault, Maule ſhewed himſelf on the walls, contemptuouſly wiping away, with a towel, the rubbiſh which the battering of the beſiegers' engines, produced. Amidſt this raſh and unavailing diſplay of heroiſm, he was mortally wounded. "May we not now ſurrender the caſtle?" ſaid his ſoldiers, when they ſaw him fall, "Cowards! "ſurrender!" returned the indignant hero; and, as he uttered theſe words, expired. Animated by

* It is probable that he croſſed the Forth near Alloa; as appears from the date of a public deed in Rymer, T. II. P. 934.

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his dying exclamation, they renewed their efforts, and till the next day, held out, againſt the whole fury of the beſiegers. Edward, having made himſelf maſter of this caſtle, purſued his victorious career, onwards, to Caithneſs*.

The Abbey of Dunfermling burnt.

Returning ſouthward from Caithneſs, he ſpent ſome part of the winter at Dunfermling. One of the moſt auguſt and ſpacious edifices then in Scotland, was the Abbey belonging to the Benedictines, at that place. This venerable building, the Engliſh ſoldiers burnt down, while they wintered here; either of deſign, and at the command of their ſovereign; or by ſome accident, amidſt their tumultuous and riotous triumph. In this abbey, indeed, had the Scottiſh Parliament, ſeveral times, aſſembled, to concert meaſures for reſiſtance to the arms and pretenſions of Edward; and it might be, on this account, probably, that *it* became an object of the deſtructive fury of the Engliſh. The church and ſome contiguous houſes, were, however, ſpared, for the accommodation of the monks†.

A. D. 1303.

The Scots finally diſperſed.

Stirling-Caſtle remained ſtill in the poſſeſſion of an unſubmitting Scottiſh garriſon. It was the only place of ſtrength now in the hands of the gallant

* Hemingford I. 205:—M. Weſtmon. 446:—Fordun. XII. 3.

† M: Weſtmon. 446:—Fordun. XII. &c.

gallant defenders of the independence of Scotland. Sir William Oliphant, Commander of the garriſon, was reſolute to hold out, againſt a ſiege, to the laſt extremity. To intercept the Engliſh army on their march from Dunfermling to Stirling, Comyn aſſembled all the remains of the Scottiſh forces, on the ſouthern bank of the Forth, at the bridge, by which was the ordinary paſſage. But, Edward was more wary than to attempt to force the paſſage; as had been raſhly and unfortunately done by Creſſingham and Warenne. A ford being, upon examination, diſcovered, at ſome diſtance from the bridge, he there croſſed the river, with all his cavalry. When the Scots poſted themſelves, here, to oppoſe him, they had truſted more to the advantage of their poſition, than to their numbers, or actual force. Seeing that he had effected a paſſage, and approached to attack them, they gave way, and diſperſed, with a degree of panic terrour*.

Siege of Stirling-Caſtle.

The caſtle, thus bared of all exterior defence, could not be held by the garriſon, with any ſtrong hopes of final ſucceſs. Yet, the gallant Oliphant, ſcorning every offer towards a capitulation; and having ſworn, when this ſtronghold was entruſted to his command, to defend it to the laſt; ſtill nobly retained

* Trivet. 337, &c.

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tained his purpoſe. The ſiege was conducted with the utmoſt energy. Edward, although now old, fought in perſon, and expoſed himſelf to danger, with all the ardour, and intrepidity of his youth. Every military engine, and all the artifices of aſſault, then known, were employed againſt the beſieged. For three months, they continued to hold out. The ditch was now filled up; the out-works were deſtroyed; many breaches were made in the walls; and the whole caſtle appeared one pile of ruins. Oliphant, at laſt, with reluctance, offered to ſurrender by a capitulation. Edward would not now hearken to his propoſals. He, with the other ſurvivors of this heroic garriſon, were compelled to yield themſelves and the caſtle, to the diſcretion of the victors. Edward's ſenſe of the merits of their extraordinary valour, induced him to ſave their lives, and to ſpare them the ignominy and pain of being bound with fetters*.

Submiſſion of the Scottiſh Nobles. A D. 1304.

In the mean time, Comyn, Bruce, and their followers had made their peace with the Engliſh King. Their lives, liberties, and eſtates, were ſpared to them; but they were threatened with having ſuch pecuniary fines levied upon them, as Edward might think proper to impoſe. A few others

* Trivet. 337:—Hemingford I. 205, 206:—M. Weſtm. 449:—Fœdera II. 951:—Fordun. XII. 4.

others were baniſhed, for terms of a few months or years, from Scotland, or from the whole dominions of Edward. The younger Bruce, grandſon to him who offered, himſelf, a competitor for the Scottiſh throne, in oppoſition to Balliol, obtained from Edward, without difficulty, inveſtiture in the feudal poſſeſſion of the lordſhip of Annandale, in conſequence of his father's death. Yet, ſuſpicious, perhaps of Edward's intentions concerning him, perhaps of unfriendly purpoſes in ſome of his countrymen; he entered formally, about this time, into a ſecret aſſociation with Lamberton, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, for their mutual co-opération and defence againſt all perſons whoſe wiſhes or intereſts might come in oppoſition to theirs *.

Wallace betrayed, tried, and executed.

Of all the Scots, Wallace alone was now neither within Edward's power, nor reconciled to his uſurpation. Although rejected from the command of the armies of his country, he had not laid aſide his ardour for its freedom, nor his hatred againſt its oppreſſors. Whether he had gone for a time, abroad, after the defeat at Falkirk; or had retired to temporary ſecrecy and ſecurity in the boſom of his family; or had betaken himſelf to the Hebudæ, and the weſtern Highlands, in order to muſter if poſſible, a new band of genereous followers, with whom he might again iſſue forth againſt his country's

* Fordun. L. XII. C. 3, 4:—Trivet. 334:—Ryley 369.

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try's foes: He was, now, at leaſt, in Scotland; but, the place of his retreat, was unknown to the Engliſh. Edward could not believe his conqueſt to be ſecurely his, while Wallace lived. His anxiety to get this hero within his power; and his reſolution to put him to death, when all others were ſpared; ſufficiently beſpoke the importance of which he eſtimated Wallace's courage and oppoſition to be. He who had firſt excited the Scots to throw off the Engliſh yoke; and under whoſe conduct alone, the Scots had contended with any ſplendid and effectual ſucceſs; might again kindle among his countrymen the flame of patriotiſm and independence; and might thus render Edward's ſecond conqueſt of Scotland, as fruitleſs and unavailing, as the firſt had been. While Edward was, upon theſe conſiderations, earneſtly uſing every means to ſeize Wallace; Ralph de Haliburton, a Scottiſh priſoner, offered his aid, upon a pretence, that he knew the ſecret place of the hero's retreat. He was diſpatched to Scotland, upon this baſe undertaking. Whatever might be Haliburton's ſucceſs; Wallace, it is certain, was ſoon after betrayed into the hands of the Engliſh, by the treachery, as is believed, of Sir John Menteith, to whoſe honour he had confided himſelf. He was conducted to London. At Weſtminſter, he was formally arraigned and tried, as a traitor, who had rebelliouſly made war upon his Lord the King, had

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ſtormed

ſtormed his caſtles, burnt his villages, and ſlain many of his loyal ſubjects. Wallace acknowledged, that he had made lawful war againſt the Engliſh, had ſtormed their caſtles, burnt their villages, and ſlain many of their warriours: but denied that he was, for this, a traitor; ſince Edward never was his King; but the enemy and oppreſſor of his country. The hero, thus undaunted, and, in his ſpirit, unſubdued, was condemned to the death of a traitor. The ſentence was executed upon him, with the moſt malicious cruelty. His head was fixed upon a pinnacle at London; his mangled limbs were diſtributed over the Kingdom; and Edward and his ſubjects began, at laſt, to think Scotland effectually ſubdued, ſince Wallace was now no more*.

CHAP.

* Fordun. LXII. C. 8:—T. Walſingham, P. 90:—Ryley 279:—Stowe 209:—M. Weſtm. 451.

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Chapter V.

Eſtabliſhment made by Edward for the Government of Scotland; and the ſudden rebellion of Robert Bruce.

Glory and views of Edward.

The whole iſland of Great Britain was now reduced under the dominion of the Engliſh King. Edward; ſecond in glory, only to William, the firſt of the Norman Line, by whom the kingdom of England had been acquired to his deſcendents; ſaw himſelf conqueror of both the Welſh and the Scots. Should he ſucceed in permanently eſtabliſhing his authority over the conquered nations; the tranquillity of the Britiſh dominions, would henceforth be much more ſecure, than it had hitherto been; and the military power of the Kings of England, would be mightily augmented. The ſettling of the government of Scotland, therefore, now became the great object of his concern.

Meaſures taken by him for ſettling the government of Scotland.

By the advice of Wiſheart, Biſhop of Glaſgow, of Robert Bruce, and John de Moubray, he ſummoned a general council of the Scottiſh nation, to aſſemble at Perth. Theſe were there required to elect ten Commiſſioners; four for the clergy; four for the military freeholders; and two for the burgeſſes,

geſſes, and for thoſe who held lands by ſocage-tenure; who ſhould, in their name, repair to London; and there give their advice to the King, as he might require them; in reſpect to the beſt mode of eſtabliſhing regulations for the maintenance of the Royal authority, and for the adminiſtration of juſtice, in Scotland. In compliance with theſe commands of their conqueror, the Scots, aſſembling at Perth, delegated the Biſhops of St Andrews and Dunkeld; the Abbots of Coupar and Melroſe; the Earl of Buchan; John Mowbray; Robert Keith, Adam Gordon, John de Inchmartin; and the Earl of March; inſtead of whom, upon his failure to attend, Sir John Menteith was afterwards ſubſtituted by Edward. Theſe Commiſſioners, repairing to the Engliſh Court; were there conjoined with twenty other Commiſſioners, nominated out of the Engliſh Parliament; and the thirty were commanded to deliberate together, for the framing of a new plan for the government of the Scots.

Commiſſioners named for ſettling the government of Scotland.

This *Commiſſion for ſettlement and legiſlation*, agreed; That the principal officers to adminiſter the King's authority in Scotland, ſhould be, a Guardian and Lieutenant, a Chancellor, a Chamberlain, a Comptroller: That under theſe there ſhould be Sheriffs in the different counties; who, after the firſt general appointment by the King,

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Their plan for its government.

ſhould, in time to come, be ſubject to be diſplaced or appointed by the authority of the Guardian and the Chamberlain: That the Guardian and the Chamberlain ſhould likewiſe name Coroners, to ſucceed thoſe whom they might find to be unfit for the office: That the caſtles of Roxburgh and Jedburgh ſhould be in the cuſtody of the Guardian; thoſe of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Dunbarton, remaining, reſpectively, under the care of their preſent governors, John de Kingſton, Peter Luband, Walter Biſſet, and John Menteith; that of Kildrummy being committed by Bruce, to ſome perſon for whoſe faithfulneſs and loyalty, he ſhould be anſwerable: That the written laws of Scotland, which had been enacted in the reigns of David the Firſt and his ſucceſſors, ſhould be collected and reviſed by the Guardian, with the aſſiſtance of the other conſiderable officers of the government; and ſhould be, by them, promulgated and adminiſtered, as the ordinary law of the country: That, for the inſtitution of any new laws which the altered circumſtances of the Scottiſh kingdom, might require, Commiſſioners from the Scottiſh Parliament, in concert with Engliſh Commiſſioners, nominated by the King, ſhould be occaſionally appointed to prepare ſuch laws, and to preſent them, for the Royal ſanction: That perſons whoſe preſence in Scotland might be dangerous to the tranquillity of the government, ſhould, with the conſent of the

reſt

reſt of the Scots, enjoying its confidence, be removed, by the Guardian, out of the kingdom, and delivered into the hands of the King's ſervants in England: And that the Commiſſioners, whether Scots or Engliſhmen, who might, at any time, be employed in regulating the affairs of Scotland, ſhould be bound by the ſolemn obligation of an oath, to loyalty and faithful ſecrecy.

To this plan for the future government of Scotland, framed by the thirty Commiſſioners, under the immediate inſpection of their ſovereign, Edward readily gave his ſanction. In the firſt nomination of the great officers, he appointed John de Bretagne to be his Lieutenant in Scotland, and Guardian of that kingdom; William de Bevercotes to be Chancellor; John de Sandale to be Chamberlain; Robert Heron to be Comptroller. The juſticiaries and the Sheriffs, were partly Scotſmen, partly Engliſhmen. A few acts of grace, were at the ſame time, executed by the King, in remiſſion of the ſevere conditions againſt ſome individuals peculiarly obnoxious, under which the general ſubmiſſion of the Scottiſh nation, had been accepted. He had committed the fortified places to garriſons and governors, either wholly Engliſh, or at leaſt Scots of undoubted fidelity. However unjuſt thoſe pretenſions upon which he had proſecuted his conqueſt; from the conquered he had taken,

Officers appointed to adminiſter it.

as

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Conciliatory measures, and hopes of Edward.

A D. 1305.

as yet, hardly any thing but the name of an independent nation. In all his enterprizes and measures, he had displayed that mixture of profound and artful policy, military heroism, generous clemency, and unconquerable ambition, which is peculiarly adapted to suppress discontent, and to overawe or overpower opposition. The Scots seemed to be, at last, almost universally reconciled to his dominion; and those of whose power or sentiments, he was, in any degree, jealous, were either honourably detained in his court, or inevitably pursued by the continual vigilance of his confidential officers. Employing, then, such a system of moderate, vigorous, and skilful policy; Edward, with some reason, expected, that the Scottish nation would, henceforth, rest quiet and unresisting, under his government*.

Circumstances tending to excite a new insurrection in Scotland.

But, the flame was only smothered, not extinguished. The pride and restlessness of a barbarous people, were not to be thus easily subdued. Even conquest, and a gentle use made by the victor, of his pretended rights, could not, at once efface the memory of their ancient, national independence. Balliol had, indeed, relinquished all his pretensions; and his name was, at length, too much despised among the Scots, to be longer used by them, as the

* Fœdera II. 968, &c.

the watchword of insurrection. But, these very events furnished new encouragement to the ambition, especially of Bruce and Comyn; one or other of whom might, now probably obtain the Scottish Crown, if it could by any means be wrested from the hands of Edward. Even the kindness and clemency of such a man as Edward, were regarded with suspicion and distrust. Wallace was no more; but, his great example was still fresh in the minds of his countrymen: Having been first taught by him, how to resist the invader of their liberty; they now, well knew their own strength and resources*.

Slaughter of Comyn; and rebellion of Bruce.

The association, already mutually entered into, between Bruce and Lamberton, might perhaps have been dictated by their common fears of fraud or tyranny in their newly acknowledged sovereign. Some endeavours towards a similar confederacy, seem to have followed, between Bruce and Comyn. But, the mutual opposition of the interests and views of these two young nobles; and the fierceness of their characters; rendered it impossible for them to be long, if at all, united together in cordial friendship. After residing, for some time, at the English Court, apparently in high favour with the King; Bruce suddenly returned to Scotland;

* Fordun. XII. 5, &c.

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land; either fleeing Edward's preſence, in dread of deſigns which he might believe to threaten his life; or conſcious of purpoſes, which, if betrayed to Edward, while he was within the monarch's power, might bring upon him, the fate of a traitor; or intent to aſſert, without delay, his claims to the Scottiſh Crown, and to raiſe the Scots in immediate inſurrection againſt their Engliſh Lords; or, it may be, ſimply called by the neceſſities of his private affairs. Whatever his errand; he found ſome of his friends at his caſtle of Lochmaben in Annandale; and from them, probably, received information concerning the conduct and intentions of Comyn, by which he was induced to ſeek an immediate interview with that Chief. Comyn was then at his caſtle of Dumfries; and Edward's juſticiaries were holding their Courts in the town. Bruce went onwards, having in his company, James Lindſay and Roger Goſpatrick. Comyn gave him a meeting, in the church belonging to the convent of the Minorite Friars, at Dumfries. A warm altercation quickly enſued between them. While their paſſions, language, and mutual offence roſe ſtill higher and higher; Bruce ſuddenly drew his ſword, and plunged it into his rival's breaſt. Lindſay and Goſpatrick, then ruſhing in, as Comyn fell to the ground, diſpatched him with their daggers. With *Red* John Comyn, fell alſo his uncle, Sir Robert Comyn, in the attempt to defend his nephew's

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nephew's life. This aſſaſſination, while it removed a competitor, left Bruce ſmall hopes of again obtaining his pardon from Edward. If he had before meditated rebellion; this was a bold deed in the outſet of his daring career: If he had hitherto cheriſhed no ſuch ambitious purpoſe; yet, the ſlaughter of Comyn, in a ſacred place, by making him deſpair of forgiveneſs, naturally forced him into rebellion. The juſticiaries, at the rumour of this aſſaſſination, were alarmed for their perſonal ſafety; and barred the gates of the houſe in which they lodged; that they might not be ſurpriſed, and likewiſe cut off, by the aſſaſſins. Bruce and his party, having attempted, in vain, to force the gates; then threatened to ſet the houſe on fire; and thus compelled the juſticiaries to ſurrender themſelves to their mercy. He contented himſelf with diſmiſſing them, uninjured, out of the kingdom. He was now in open rebellion; and his only remaining hopes of ſafety, appeared to lye in the boldneſs and good fortune, with which he ſhould proſecute the hoſtilities which he had thus commenced. His brothers, vaſſals, and ſome other adherents, gathered together, to encourage and ſupport him. He proceeded to levy war againſt the Engliſh, with loftier pretenſions and bold views, than any Scotſman had dared to profeſs, ſince the abdication of Balliol. Thus within the ſhort ſpace of *four months*, Edward ſaw all his hopes of the permanent

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permanent ſubjection of the Scots, entirely fruſtrated; and was forced to renew the conteſt for the dominion of Scotland*.

Chapter VI.

Acceſſion; and reign of Robert Bruce, to the battle of Bannockburn.

Robert Bruce crowned King of Scotland at Scone.

A. D. 1306.

It was on the tenth day of February, in the year one thouſand three hundred and ſix, that Bruce violated the peace of the Church, and of King Edward, by the aſſaſſination of Comyn, in a ſacred place, at Dumfries. In the beginning of March, immediately ſubſequent, he had been joined by a conſiderable number of adherents; and having proceeded acroſs the kingdom, to Perth; was ready to be ſolemnly inveſted by his followers, with the inſignia of royalty, at the neighbouring Abbey of Scone; the uſual ſcene of the coronation of the Scottiſh Kings. Lamberton, Biſhop of St Andrew's, Wiſheart Biſhop of Glaſgow, and the Abbot of Scone; Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, the four brothers of Bruce; Thomas Randolph, Chriſtopher Seaton; Malcolm Earl of Lennox, John

* Fordun. XII. 6, 7:—Hemingford I. 220:—Pinkerton's Edition of Barbour, I. P. 33, 34, 35, &c.

John Earl of Athole; James Douglas, Gilbert, and Hugh de la Haye, David Barclay, Alexander Fraſer, Walter de Sommerville, David de Inchmartin, Robert Boyd, and Robert Fleming; were the principal of thoſe adherents whoſe conſent, vows of fealty, and applauſive acclamations here encouraged Robert Bruce to riſk the perils of ſeating himſelf on the Scottiſh throne. Macduff, Earl of Fife; who, by inheritance from his anceſtor, the contemporary of Malcolm Canmore, enjoyed the right of placing the Crown, for the firſt time, upon the head of any ſucceſſor to the ſovereignty of Scotland; remaining, at this time, faithful to Edward; would not aſſiſt at the inauguration of Bruce. His ſiſter Iſabella, however, wife to the Earl of Buchan, took it upon her, to perform the office that pertained to her brother; and, on Sunday, the twenty-ninth of March, ſet the Crown on Bruce's head, in the Abbey-Church of Scone, and in the preſence of almoſt all thoſe adherents who had then joined him*.

Resentment, and new meaſures of Edward.

Meanwhile, Edward, with aſtoniſhment and rage, received tidings, at Wincheſter, of the aſſaſſination of Comyn, and the conſequent revolt of

* Barbour I. 40:—Fordun. XII. 9:—Trivet. 342:—Math. Weſtm. 454:—Hect. Boeth. Lib. XIV. Folia 311:—J. Major. Lib. IV. C. 19. Folio 79:—Leſl. Lib. VII. P. 229:—Buchanan. Lib. VIII. R. 258.

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Bruce. He was now advanced in years, and infirm of body; but, his mind ſtill retained its wonted energy. To the Pope, he inſtantly ſent meſſengers, to inform his Holineſs of the ſacrilegious murther, which the new pretender to the Scottiſh ſovereignty, had committed; and to demand a bull of excommunication againſt Bruce and his aſſociates; which was readily obtained. With the ſame ardent promptiude, he appointed Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, to the government of Scotland; and ſent him forward, with what force he could eaſily muſter, to oppoſe the inſurgents, ere they ſhould gain any formidable acceſſion of ſtrength. To propitiate the aid of heaven; and having his mind perhaps affected with unuſual emotions of piety, amidſt the preſent infirmities of his age, and the vexations of his ambition; he ſolemnly vowed, that, after executing juſt vengeance upon the ſacrilege and rebellion of Robert Bruce, he would again embark for the Holy Land; and there end his days, in fighting againſt the infidels; upon whom his youthful proweſs had been glorioufly tried. His ſon, Prince Edward, ſeeming to catch his father's ardour, vowed, likewiſe, that he would not reſt, for two nights together in the ſame place, till he ſhould have reached Scotland. The Prince, with his attendants, then followed the Earl of Pembroke. The King himſelf, having ſummoned his military vaſſals to meet him in arms, at Carliſle,

liſle, proceeded, by ſlow journies, to that town; in ſo weak a ſtate of health, that, notwithſtanding the impatient activity of his mind, he could not travel otherwiſe, than in a litter. Being ſeverely afflicted by a dyſentery, he was unable to advance farther, on his expedition; but, halted near Carliſle, and paſſed the ſubſequent winter in that neighbourhood *.

Battle of Methven-wood.

The Earl of Pembroke had, however, reached Perth, before Bruce could muſter any force with which he might make head ſucceſsfully againſt the Engliſh. At Pembroke's approach, the Scots, not daring to undergo a ſiege in Perth, retired to Methven-wood, adjacent. From this poſt, they ſoon ſallied forth, to annoy the enemy; and in the ſpirit of chivalry, and with that headlong ardour for which the nation had ever been diſtinguiſhed; challenged Pembroke to draw out his forces, and meet them in the open field. The Engliſh were not ſlow to anſwer this challenge. In the evening of the very day on which it was offered, they marched out; and being met, near the town, by Bruce with his followers; an obſtinate combat enſued. While Bruce fought, rather with the bold, inconſiderate valour of a private ſoldier, than with the

* Fœdera II. 988. 989:—Trivet. 342, 343:—Hemingford I. 221.

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the caution of a King and a Leader; he was unhorſed, and twice in danger of being taken priſoner by Engliſh Knights; but was ſtill reſcued by his own brave attendants. Yet, the Scots were only an handful of men, before the Engliſh hoſt. They were, at length, almoſt all cut in pieces, or made priſoners; Bruce, with ſome few followers, with difficulty, eſcaping to the wilds of Athole. Edward receiving the news of this ſucceſs of his Lieutenant, as he arrived at Carliſle; was ſomewhat conſoled under his bodily diſtreſs; and was the more eaſily perſuaded to reſt, for ſome time, there, in the hope of recovering ſtrength*.

Bruce paſſes the ſummer upon the Grampian hills.

Bruce and his few remaining friends, wandered, for ſome time, among the Grampian hills, without daring to deſcend into the vicinity of any of thoſe poſts or fortreſſes which they believed to be occupied by the Engliſh and their adherents. The chace of the deer and other wild beaſts, and the taking of the fiſhes of the lakes and rivers, afforded them ſuch proviſions, as they had been chiefly accuſtomed to ſubſiſt upon. Here they might poſſibly have continued to ſojourn, till intelligence of the ſlackened vigilance of the Engliſh, or of the increaſing favour of their own countrymen,

* Barbour V. I. P. 44, 45, 46:—Fordun. XII. 11:—Trivet. 343:—Matth. Weſtm. 455.

men, ſhould have invited them forth, with new promiſes of better fortune. But, the approach of winter; the inclemencies of which, could not well be endured, without ſhelter; and the deſire of rejoining the more helpleſs part of their families; obliged them to repair, occaſionally, towards Aberdeen, while they were ſtill beſet and purſued by the Engliſh. Nor were the Engliſh, the only foes they had to fear, in theſe regions. Stewart of Lorn, huſband to the aunt of the aſſaſſinated Comyn; impatient to revenge his nephew's murther; and being, for this, the more zealouſly faithful to Edward; eagerly muſtered his vaſſals, and purſued the royal fugitive, while he wandered, almoſt forlorn, among the heights of Braidalbane. The men of Lorn came upon Bruce and his ſlender company, in Strathfillan; and there, on a heathy plain; ſtill known by the name of Dalry, a deſperate combat enſued; in which the King and his companions were worſted; thoſe of them who ſurvived the fight, and eſpecially Bruce himſelf, eſcaping with extreme difficulty. After wandering about, on the Grampian hills, and between Braidalbane and Aberdeen, as long as they could there find ſafety or ſubſiſtence; Bruce and his companions were, at laſt obliged to ſeparate, and diſperſe themſelves into different places. Their wives, who had, for ſome time, accompanied them in their erratic life, were conducted, by Nigel Bruce, to the caſtle of Kildrummy,

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Kildrummy, in the diſtrict of Marre; which had been left, at the late pacification, in the cuſtody of Bruce, and had not been, hitherto, retaken by the Engliſh. The King himſelf determined to paſs over into the North of Ireland; where he might perhaps obtain aid, againſt the enſuing ſummer; and might, at leaſt, be ſecure, in the mean time, from the purſuit of his enemies *.

He paſſes to the iſle of Rachrin, on the Iriſh coaſt.

With two hundred men who ſtill remained with him, he travelled weſtward. They directed their journey, firſt into Lennox; having hopes of ſome aſſiſtance or protection, from the Earl of this diſtrict, who had, not long before, aſſiſted at Bruce's coronation. Croſſing ſome part of the lake of Loch-lomond, they were kindly received and entertained by Earl Malcolm, in one of its iſlets. The King, with a certain number of his attendants, were, by Lennox's care, ſoon after, provided with a veſſel, and enabled to ſail, from the mouth of the Clyde, for the caſtle of the Lord of the Iſles, in Cantyre. By Angus Macdonald, Lord of the Iſles; a ſtranger to the power of Edward, and probably the enemy of Stewart of Lorn; Bruce was hoſpitably received. Reſting with this chieftain, in his caſtle of Dunaverty, only for three days, till he could again

* Barbour V. I. P. 63, &c. Book III. throughout:—Fordun. XII. 11.

again put to sea; the Scottish King then continued his voyage; and, being either involuntarily driven on, by uncertain winds; or afraid of endangering his safety, if he should land in any of the southern Hebudæ; sailed to the islet of Rachrin, contiguous to the north-east coast of Ireland*.

Bruce returns to Carrick.

RACHRIN, being but a petty islet, not more than ten square miles in extent, could not furnish any considerable number of Allies, to recruit the feeble force by which Bruce was accompanied. It could not even supply subsistence to him and his companions, for any great length of time. But, from Rachrin, he found means to dispatch his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, to the main-land of Ireland; that they might solicit the Irish septs, to take arms, and come in aid of their brethren, the Scots, against the English the common enemies of both nations. Nor did the King himself tarry here, longer, than till these seas were so much calmed, upon the approach of Spring, as to afford him, a safe passage to the isle of Arran, adjacent to the Scottish main-land. From Arran, he dispatched a trusty messenger into Carrick and Galloway, in order if possible, to rouse the people on his estates in those countries, to take arms against the English, in support of him, who was now, as well

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* Barbour, B. III. *sub fine.*

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well their Sovereign, as their immediate Lord. This meſſenger found the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Turnbury; and none of Bruce's vaſſals of Carrick, near, to receive and aſſiſt their maſter. Bruce, meanwhile, and thoſe who remained with him, kept anxious watch upon the heights of Arran; ſtraining their eye-balls by efforts to diſcern, whether thoſe fires yet blazed on the neareſt hills of Carrick; which the meſſenger, Cuthbert, had been commanded to kindle, as ſignals of his ſucceſs; if haply, he ſhould not prove unſucceſsful in his errand. At length, they perceived flames blazing on the hill above Turnbury; and taking their boats in haſte; rowed eagerly to the ſhore of Carrick. When they approached this ſhore, Cuthbert, who ſtood waiting for them, on the beach; informed them, in great trepidation; that no friends were near, to meet them; that the Engliſh were in Turnbury; that, the fire which they had ſuppoſed a ſignal of invitation from him, had been kindled by the enemy, for ſome different purpoſe. But, Bruce and his ſmall band were now, cloſe upon the Engliſh, who knew not of their coming; and this, in the darkneſs of night, and in local circumſtances which were better known to Bruce, than to the enemy. They attacked ſome looſe parties of Engliſh ſoldiers, which were not protected within the walls of the caſtle, but lay ſcattered in its neighbourhood; ſlew them all, except

cept a very few that escaped by flight; threatened Piercy and the garrison, who from the castle, beheld the slaughter, without daring to sally forth; relieved their own distress, by the pillage of the quarters and baggage of the English whom they had routed; and then, upon the news of the approach of fresh English troops, betook themselves to the remoter mountains of Carrick, where it meets the northern confine of Galloway*.

But, what was this petty success, to the sorrowful tidings, which these gallant warriours now received concerning the fate of the friends whom they had left at Kildrummy, and other places in the southern and eastern districts of Scotland? Edward had, by proclamation, commanded all those Scots who desired to escape the punishment of rebellion,—to take arms against Bruce and his adherents: All the accomplices in the murther of Comyn, were to perish as traitors, whenever they might be seized: The only mitigation to be granted to some of those who were the least guilty, was that of—rigorous imprisonment, instead of immediate execution. In obedience to these orders, and in prosecution of his first successes; Pembroke sent out parties of his forces, into

Imprisonment and execution of a number of Bruce's friends.

* Barbour, Book V. *sub initio*:—Hemingford I. 225:—M. Westm. 456.

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almoſt all parts of the kingdom, in which Bruce or any of his confederates, could be ſuſpected to lurk. The Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, was ſaved from Edward's vengeance, only by the moſt abject ſubmiſſion, and deſertion of his party, and by the ſanctity of his eccleſiaſtical character. Wiſheart, Biſhop of Glaſgow, attempting to maintain the caſtle of Coupar in Fife, againſt the Engliſh, and in the name of Bruce, was there taken in arms; and was carried away, a captive, into confinement, in the caſtle of Nottingham, in England. Kildrummy-Caſtle, the only place of ſtrength, remaining in the hands of the Brucian party, was, about the ſame time, beſieged by an Engliſh army, under the command of the Earls of Lancaſter and Hereford. Aware, that it could not long withſtand the aſſaults of the beſiegers; the wife and daughter of Bruce, made their eſcape out of the caſtle; and directed their trembling flight to the ſanctuary of Saint Duthac, at Tain, in Roſs-ſhire. Even the ſanctuary could not afford to them, that protection which others found in it; for the Earl of Roſs, in violation of its uſual privileges, delivered them up to the Engliſh. Nigel Bruce, the brother of the King, and the reſt of the garriſon in Kildrummy, having ſent away the ladies, as they fancied, to a place of ſecurity, determined to hold out againſt the beſiegers, to the laſt extremity. Their gallant reſolutions were fruſtrated by the treachery of a wretch

wretch named Oſburne, who ſecretly ſet fire to their magazine of weapons and proviſions. Deprived thus of arms and ſubſiſtence, they, by neceſſity, ſurrendered to the enemy, at diſcretion. Whatever might be the fate of the meaner captives, Nigel, the brother of Robert Bruce, could not hope for Edward's mercy. He was ſolemnly tried at Berwick, condemned to die as a traitor, hanged, and his head then ſevered from his lifeleſs body. Chriſtopher Seaton, who having obtained in marriage, a ſiſter of the Bruces, and having joined them at Dumfries, had been taken priſoner at Methven-wood; met the ſame miſerable death. The brave Simon Fraſer was, with equal cruelty, and for the ſame pretended crime, executed at London; and the head of this warriour was expoſed on a lance, near to that of the illuſtrious Wallace. The Earl of Athole, falling into the hands of the Engliſh, while he was vainly attempting to eſcape by ſea; and not a few brave Scots, of ſmaller note; periſhed alſo, as if by their efforts in behalf of their country, they had deſerved the fate of traitors. Others were, with difficulty, pardoned; but purchaſed their pardon by the dereliction of their principles, and of the cauſe of their country; and by placing themſelves ſo wholly within the toils of the Engliſh, that it became impoſſible for them to return immediately to the party of Bruce, whatever the attachment which they might

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might ſtill retain for him. The Counteſs of Buchan, who had firſt ſet the Crown on the head of Bruce, was likewiſe made priſoner. Edward refrained from putting her to death; although enraged to unappeaſable fury, by the tranſaction at which ſhe had ſo conſpicuouſly aſſiſted; but, to make her captivity peculiarly diſtreſsful, ordered a narrow cloſet like the cage of a wild beaſt, to be framed for her ſtricter confinement, within an apartment in one of the turrets of the caſtle of Berwick, in which ſhe was impriſoned. The wife and daughter of Bruce, were ſent, in captivity, into England; but appear to have been leſs harſhly treated, than the Counteſs of Buchan*.

Courage, fortitude, and wiſdom of Bruce.

This ruin of his party, theſe cruelties exerciſed upon his family and his adherents; were the ſubjects of the firſt news with which Bruce's anxious enquiries, were anſwered; after his return, in the Spring of the year, one thouſand three hundred and ſeven, from roaming among the Hebudian iſles, to the main-land of Scotland. Grief, indignation, and deſpair wound up all the energies of his ſoul, to an higher pitch, than they could have been raiſed to, ſimply by the impulſe of patriotiſm or ambition. He was no longer that giddy youth, who

* Barbour, Book IV:—Fordun. XII. 11:—M. Weſtm. 455:—Trivet. 345:—Leland II. 543, &c.

who had changed from party to party, with an inconsiderate levity, bespeaking almost a total destitution, equally of integrity and of wisdom. His hopes, his losses, his perils, all conspired to mould his character to unshrinking, and greatly daring heroism. Sect. I. Ch. VI. A. D. 1307.

His brothers, Thomas and Alexander, at length, arrived from Ireland, with a friendly host of seven hundred warriours; who came to combat, with their kindred Scots, against the usurping English. But, Macdowal, descended by a spurious, or perhaps by a legitimate lineage, from the ancient, independent lords of Galloway; at this time, the most considerable chieftain in these parts; and hostile to Bruce, as having hopes of thriving upon his ruin; hastily armed his vassals, and met the Irish auxiliaries, as they landed in the bay of Lochryan. These strangers, being imperfectly armed, and making their way irregularly, and with difficulty, to the shore; were hence unable to present any effectual opposition to the onset of the Galwegians. They were routed with great slaughter; the two Bruces, and several others of their leaders, were made prisoners; and those few of the survivors, who escaped, were scattered over the country, in miserable, uncertain flight. The captives were conveyed by Macdowal, in triumph, to King Edward, at Carlisle; and were, there, by his command, Overthrow of the Irish Allies: And death of Thomas and Alexander, the brothers of Robert Bruce.

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mand, immediately put to death. Thus was Bruce cruelly diſappointed of the Iriſh ſuccours*.

Increaſe of Bruce's party in Carrick.

YET, he did not long, idly lurk among the wilds of Carrick. His vaſſals, of this diſtrict, being warned of his arrival, reſorted, in ſmall parties, to join him. Such of the Iriſh as had eſcaped the purſuit of Macdowall, came in to Bruce and his company, aſſoon as they were able to diſcover the place of his retreat. James Douglas, one of the moſt gallant and faithful of all thoſe who followed the fortunes of Bruce, repairing ſecretly to Douglas-dale, there ſurpriſed the Engliſh in the caſtle of Douglas; put the garriſon to the ſword; and, after plundering and burning the caſtle; returned to his King, on the confine between Ayrſhire and Galloway, with a ſupply of proviſions and other neceſſaries, and with the acceſſion of a number of new partizans. Bruce, thus gathering additional ſtrength, amidſt his misfortunes, began to extend his excurſions, each day farther, through the ſurrounding country. Every ſtraggling party of the Engliſh, was liable to be cut off by him. All the Engliſh garriſons in theſe parts, were exceedingly annoyed by his bold enterprizes. It ſeemed, that, if not ſpeedily checked, he might

A. D. 1307.

ſoon

* Fordun. XII. 11:—Trivet. 346:—M. Weſtm. 457.

ſoon be able to reduce all the weſtern counties of Scotland, into ſubmiſſion under his authority *.

Edward himſelf lay ſick at Carliſle; and was ſtill unable to proceed farther on an expedition in which all his predominant paſſions were ardently intereſted. But, his Lieutenant no ſooner learned that Bruce had made his appearance in the Weſt, and was rapidly overturning the power of the Engliſh in thoſe parts; than he marched with a conſiderable force againſt him. The King, aware of the approach of the Engliſh army, poſted himſelf advantageouſly on Lowdon-hill, to receive them, as they ſhould advance, through Ayrſhire, towards his places of receſs, on the confines of Galloway. Almoſt all the inhabitants of Cunningham and Kyle, as well as of Carrick; the three diſtricts of Ayrſhire; were now devoted to his ſervice. Nor does it appear, that the caſtle of Turnbury, remained, at this time, in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. Several ſkirmiſhing rencounters took place between detachments from the Engliſh army, and ſmaller parties of the followers of Bruce; before the two armies could meet in one, great, deciſive battle. Whether Bruce, at laſt, foregoing the advantage of his poſition upon Lowdon-hill, deſcended to fight the Engliſh upon equal ground; or whether

Battle of Lowdon-hill.

* Barbour, B. V.

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whether the Engliſh army attacked the Scots within their intrenchments; it is certain that the valour of the Scots, prevailed; and Pembroke's forces were defeated. A ſecond engagement enſued, within three days after the former; and again, a body of Engliſh troops, commanded by Ralph de Monthermer, were routed by the brave adherents of Bruce. The diſcomfited Engliſh found refuge in the caſtle of Ayr; yet were, even here, beſieged by the Scottiſh King; and might probably have fallen into his hands; had not the approach of powerful relief to them, from England, obliged him haſtily to raiſe the ſiege. Amid the deſolation which the mutual hoſtilities of the Scots and Engliſh, ſpread through the three conterminous counties of Ayr, Lanerk, and Renfrew, the Engliſh, about this time, burnt the monaſtery of Paiſley*.

Death of Edward the Firſt of England.

EDWARD the Firſt of England, lived only to hear of theſe laſt diſaſters of his troops; not to revenge them. He had lingered through the winter, at Carliſle, in uncertain health; diſeaſe ſapping his powers of life; yet, his ſpirit ſtill manfully bearing him up, againſt its attacks; and preſſing forward to the final accompliſhment of the grand purpoſe of his ambition. The capture and puniſhment

* Barbour, B. VIII:—Trivet. 346:—M. Weſtm:—Fordun. XII. 14.

puniſhment of ſome of Bruce's moſt diſtinguiſhed aſſociates, had yielded a gratification to his angry and perturbed breaſt, from which he ſeemed, for a time, to regain new health and vigour. The return of ſpring, and the fierce impatience of his mind, made him flatter himſelf with the perſuaſion, that he had, at length, recovered from a diſtemper under which, he was ſoon to fall. In gratitude to heaven for his fancied recovery, he offered up the horſe-litter in which he had been lately borne, as a pious deodand, to remain in the cathedral of Carliſle. He then mounted his war-horſe, and attempted to proceed to Scotland. But, at the end of four days, he had travelled only ſix miles. On the ſeventh day of July, in the year one thouſand three hundred and ſeven, he expired at Burgh on Sand; within ſight of Scotland; which, after all his efforts to ſubject it to the Engliſh Crown; was ſtill unſubdued; and was ſoon to be wholly emancipated from the Engliſh yoke. Even amid the pains, and the devotions of his laſt hours, ſtill breathing the ſame ſpirit of warfare and ambition which had animated him through life; he, with his dying words, enjoined his attendants to bear his corpſe, into Scotland before the army, and to preſerve it unburied, till the Scots ſhould be wholly ſubdued *.

* Trivet. 547, &c.

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Character of Edward.

The character of Edward ſhall not be paſſed over, without eulogy, even in the hiſtory of a people whom he long laboured to enſlave. His figure was ſtately, robuſt, and graceful. Amidſt the troubles of his father's reign, he was formed, in early youth, to valour, fortitude, and political wiſdom. No European Knight acquired higher glory, in the Holy Land, than Edward; at a time, when the cruſades, and the wars for recovering that ſacred territory from the infidels; were the grand ſchool, or rather theatre of heroiſm and chivalry; on which all the moſt illuſtrious warriours of the Weſt, contended, firſt, to diſtinguiſh their youthful names, by martial honours, or even to crown the glories of long and heroic lives, by deeds exceeding their former fame. Returning to Britain, he ſucceeded to the Engliſh Throne, with the general favour of his ſubjects; but, in a ſeaſon the difficulties of which required the abilities of a hero, and of a ſage, to be united in him who was, here, to wield the ſceptre. To his turbulent and ambitious nobles, he ſkilfully yielded, what, it ſeemed probable that, in a conteſt, they might be able to wreſt from him; yet, granted nothing which he could, by any means, preſerve to the authority of the Crown; and let ſlip no fair occaſion of reſuming what he had reluctantly beſtowed, and of weakening the power, and humbling the arrogance of that nobility, as far as he might, without

without depriving himself or future sovereigns of their useful support. By the final conquest of Wales, and its union to England, he did much towards the augmentation of the military strength of the English nation, and towards the establishment of that security and tranquility which are the parents of refinement and civilization. Nor did his grand designs, or the occasional perplexities of his affairs, in Britain, hinder him from defending his possessions in France, and maintaining the wonted influence of his family, upon the politics and wars of the continent. Who will affirm, that it was a wild, martial ambition; and not rather a desire to promote, by peace and union, the general felicity and glory of the British nations; that prompted him to pursue the conquest of Scottish liberty, by so long a train of complex and artful policy, and by such a variety of military enterprizes? It is not strange, that, in Edward, as with many other illustrious men, wise policy should, at times, have degenerated into cunning and fraudful artifice. *He* is not justly to be called *cruel*, who so easily pardons what he accounts rebellion, and who sheds the blood of war in peace, so sparingly, as did Edward. If the execution of Wallace were excruciating and cruel; something must be allowed to have been due to the sorrow and revenge of those whose parents, brothers, children, had perished by his arms; something is perhaps to be pardoned

to

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to the impotent rage of a rival, unable to find any other resource against the opposition of a more exalted personal character, than that of crushing it to destruction; it is to be remembered, that cool, political wisdom, when it happens to find benignity and mercy incompatible with its purposes, is ever more relentlessly cruel, than anger or ferocity. When he delivered over to the executioner, the brothers and other adherents of Bruce; his passions were exasperated by the pertinacious insurrections, and by the unconquerable, irreconcileable opposition of the Scots; and his temper was soured by the many vexations and disappointments of life, and by the pains and infirmities of drooping, expiring age. Not that any peculiarity of character or circumstances, can justify violence, cruelty, or fraud. But, the character of man is always to be estimated by the standard of humanity; and due allowance is ever to be made for the necessary influence of diversity of circumstances, upon the sentiments and conduct of different men. Thus candidly viewed, Edward the First of England, will probably appear, to have exhibited, in his character, as much virtue, in union with as much valour, and as much prudence, as have distinguished almost any warriour or statesman, of any age, or nation.

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Retreat of Edward II. out of Scotland.

WHILE the death of their King, and other concomitant events, for a time, palſied, or fruſtrated the enterprizes of the Engliſh; Bruce ſlighted no opportunity that offered, to enable him, to win new partizans, to eſpouſe his cauſe; and to conquer back a larger, and ſtill a larger extent of the Scottiſh territories, out of the hands of his enemies. Young Edward, indeed, after aſſuming the enſigns of royalty, made a ſhow of obeying his father's dying injunctions, and of proſecuting the conqueſt of Scotland. In a gay and idle progreſs, rather than in a military expedition; he advanced with his army, through Annandale and Nithſdale; the inhabitants of which, were, as yet, obedient to his dominion; to Cumnock, on the confines of Ayrſhire; the only county in which Bruce's royal authority was, at this time, duly acknowledged. But, Bruce and his partizans were not ignorant, that young Edward was impatient to return into England; to enjoy the pageantries of a coronation, and to indulge in the vain pleaſures, and licentious exceſſes, into which he might now plunge, without reſtraint. They wiſely avoided encountering his powerful army, before which they would have been, but an handful. Retiring to their ſecret receſſes, into which Edward was little diſpoſed to purſue them; they left him to be eaſily perſuaded, by the flattering ſuggeſtions of his courtiers, that, ſince no hoſtile hoſt appeared, to oppoſe his progreſs

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greſs, there remained therefore none in Scotland, whoſe rebellion could materially diſturb his government. Edward was pleaſed to find a plauſible pretext for terminating his expedition. He confirmed the Earl of Pembroke in the Lieutenancy of Scotland, which he had, before, adminiſtered; impowered him to receive to grace, all the Scottiſh inſurgents, except thoſe who had been accomplices in the murther of Comyn; and then, in great haſte, departed towards England. Yet, as he retired, he, upon ſome capricious motive, ſuddenly diſmiſſed Pembroke from the Lieutenancy of Scotland; and nominated John de Bretagne, to ſucceed him*.

Conſequences of the death of Edward Firſt, and of his ſon's retreat.

No ſooner were the news of the death of Edward the Firſt, of the firſt meaſures of his ſon's reign, of the fruitleſs expedition, and abrupt retreat of the Engliſh; generally known throughout Scotland; than a mighty change was wrought upon the ſentiments of all men, in reſpect to the independence, or final ſubmiſſion of the Scots. Bruce, and thoſe who had hitherto fought and ſuffered with him, were now encouraged to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes; not only of impunity for their pretended treaſon againſt the Engliſh government; but of ſucceſsfully vindicating the liberties of their country; and of aggrandizing

* Fœdera III. 1. 7. 10, &c.

ing their own fortunes and honours. Many, who, although ſecretly friends to their purpoſes and efforts, had been deterred, by the formidable name of the firſt Edward, from declaring openly in *their* favour; now haſtened to join them, and to claim the merit of contending in the ſame cauſe. Not a few of thoſe light, fickle characters; who, in civil broils, inceſſantly veer,—they ſcarcely know why,—from party to party; deſerted, at the ſame time, with capricious eagerneſs to the ſide of Bruce. The loyalty and zeal of thoſe who continued faithful to the Engliſh government, began, inſenſibly, to languiſh. All men began, in imagination, to anticipate, with fear or hope, the firm eſtabliſhment of Bruce, upon the Scottiſh throne.

Already maſter of all Ayrſhire, except the caſtle of Ayr; and by the exertions of Douglas, of no inconſiderable portion of the ſhires of Lanerk and Renfrew: Bruce now undertook an enterprize out of Carrick, into Galloway; to avenge, upon Macdowall, the defeat and ſlaughter of his Iriſh Allies; and, if poſſible, to win the allegiance of the people of that country. The Galwegians refuſed, for the greater part, to join his ſtandard; yet could not oppoſe any adequate force, to check his inroads into their territory. A great part of Galloway was the inheritance of Comyn whom he had ſlain, or of Macdowall, his inveterate enemy.

Bruce makes an inroad into Galloway.

It

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It lay contiguous, alſo, to the weſtern border of England, and many of its preſent inhabitants were of Engliſh deſcent. Hence the obſtinacy with which they reſiſted the ſolicitations of Bruce, and perſevered in that allegiance which they had vowed to the Engliſh King. Nor is it improbable, that ſome of them might ſtill cheriſh a reſpect for the rival rights and intereſts of Balliol, who had once poſſeſſed extenſive eſtates in Lower Galloway. Bruce, with his followers, over-ran their country; burning down their houſes; maſſacring, without diſtinction, every ſex and age; carrying away their flocks and herds; and ſpoiling all their other goods. Some of the Galwegian ſtrongholds, on the ſea-coaſt, or in the interior country, were ſet on fire, or taken by aſſault. Others, being more inacceſſible, or better defended, withſtood their haſty, irregular efforts. But, before Bruce could accompliſh the final conqueſt of Galloway, the approach of an Engliſh army, which he had not a ſufficient force, to oppoſe, obliged him to retire precipitately into Carrick*.

Bruce ravages Galloway; but is forced to retire, before ſubduing it.

A. D. 1307.

New plans and enterprizes of Bruce and his followers.

Unable to make farther progreſs, at this time, in eſtabliſhing his authority in the ſouth-weſt counties; Bruce was now induced to think of expeditions into ſome other parts of the kingdom. A ſufficient

* Barbour, B. VII. Vol. I:—Fœdera III. 14, &c.

ſufficient force was left in the ſhires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanerk, to maintain, at leaſt, thoſe advantages which the Brucians had already gained, if not to make any new impreſſion upon the Engliſh, in theſe diſtricts. While James Douglas went, from Douglas-dale, into the foreſt of Selkirk, which then comprehended a very ample range of territory; and while the future invaſion of Galloway, was aſſigned to Edward Bruce; the King himſelf was encouraged to paſs into the north-weſt Highlands; the inhabitants of which were now very generally inclined to eſpouſe his cauſe. The increaſed favour of the nation towards Robert Bruce, ſufficiently juſtified this diſtribution of the force of his party; and ſeemed to promiſe the happieſt conſequences from the ſeparate exertions of their three moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders*.

Succeſſes of Bruce in the north-eaſt counties.

In the weſtern and northern Highlands, Bruce met with little oppoſition. Into theſe parts of Scotland, the Engliſh had ſcarcely ever penetrated; or at leaſt, they had not there ſtationed any garriſons ſufficiently ſtrong, to overawe the native inhabitants. The caſtles, alſo, were too few, and too imperfectly fortified, to maintain an authority over the people of the open country, which they were averſe from acknowledging.

* Barbour, Vol. II. B. VIII. &c.

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A. D. 1308.

With an army greatly augmented by thoſe who daily joined his ſtandard, in the courſe of his preſent expedition; Bruce purſued his proſperous career, eaſtward to Marre, and the country about Aberdeen. Here he found the Earl of Buchan, the preſent Chief of the family of the Comyns, ready, with a conſiderable force of Scottiſh and Engliſh troops, to give him battle. The King, although then languid, and ſick of a feveriſh or rheumatic illneſs, was even more forward, than Comyn, to try the fortune of an engagement. The bold activity of his mind ſeemed to triumph over the weakneſs of his body, and to diſpel the diſeaſe with which he had been, for ſome time afflicted. At the firſt onſet, the troops of Buchan, were defeated and diſperſed. Bruce, with his army, fiercely purſued; ſlaughtered many of the enemy, in their ſcattered flight; urged the purſuit through the country of Buchan; and, waſting this diſtrict with fire and ſword; ſpared none of its inhabitants, alive, ſave only thoſe who ſwore fealty to King Robert, and agreed to ſerve in arms, againſt his enemies. Buchan was the poſſeſſion of his bittereſt and moſt hated foes; and he appears to have ravaged it to a degree of deſolation, exceeding what is ordinarily produced by the fury of war. After theſe ſucceſſes, fear, hope, and admiration

miration brought many eminent partizans to enlist under his banner*. Sect. I. Ch. VI.

Thus flushed with victory; and strengthened by continual re-inforcements; these brave Scots impetuously prosecuted their career of conquest. They had turned their faces southward; and were impatient to reach the frith of Forth, without leaving an enemy in arms behind them. An English garrison still held, for Edward, the castle of Forfar. Forrester, a brave knight in Bruce's army, taking advantage of the careleſsness with which they kept watch, scaled the wall, by night, undiscovered; and, although accompanied but by a few chosen comrades; easily prevailed over, and slaughtered, the garrison. Bruce, after dismantling this castle, which had been thus gallantly won for him, continued his march to the banks of the Tay; and attempted, but not yet successfully, to take Perth, by a sudden assault. Want of military engines, and other instruments of war; as well as the return of winter; rendered Bruce unable either to press the siege, at this time, with sufficient vigour, or to turn it into a close blockade†. Capture of the castle of Forfar, and siege of Perth. A. D. 1308.

In

* Fordun. L. XII. C. 13. 17:—Barbour, B. IX:—J. Major, L. IV. Folio, 80.

† Fordun. XII. 17:—Barbour, B. IX:—H. Boeth. Lib. XIV. Folio, 312.

Sect. I. Ch. VI.

In the mean time, James Douglas had annoyed the Engliſh, in the ſouth, with valour, wiſdom, and ſucceſs, not unworthy of the fortunes and exertions of his Sovereign, in the north. His firſt enterprize had been undertaken againſt the caſtle of Lanerk; one of the moſt important places of ſtrength which the Engliſh held in that diſtrict. By a ſtratagem, he drew a great part of the garriſon, with their commander, out of the caſtle; to a place where he and his followers, riſing out of ambuſh; fell upon *them* unthinking of danger, and imperfectly armed; and ſlew them, almoſt to a man. The few ſurvivors of the garriſon, gladly yielded up the caſtle, upon a capitulation, by which they were diſmiſſed, uninjured, to the neareſt poſt belonging to their countrymen. Thus maſter of Lanerk-Caſtle, Douglas, by continual excurſions, ſoon acquired, for King Robert, the mountains of Clydeſdale and Tweeddale, with the foreſt of Selkirk; and even ſpread the terrour of his name, through the foreſt of Jedburgh, and to the very border of England. Amid his exertions, in theſe parts, againſt the Engliſh and thoſe Scots who ſtill adhered to the Engliſh intereſt; he luckily ſurprized, in a lonely cottage, at ſome diſtance from the ſite of the town of Peebles, three illuſtrious Scots, then attached to Edward; and made two of them, Thomas Randolph, and Alexander Stewart, priſoners; while Adam Gordon, the third

Enterprizes of James Douglas.

of

of the party, escaped. Randolph, the nephew of the King, had assisted at his coronation; but, having since fallen into the hands of the English, had made his peace with them, by abjuring his uncle's cause. Being now sent by Douglas, to the King, he was for a time, imprisoned; but was, within no long space, reconciled to Bruce; and became, as we shall hereafter see, second to none of the Scottish nobles, for heroism and fidelity, as the champion of his King and country*. A. D. 1308.

Edward Bruce conquers Galloway.

This series of successes, in every different part of the kingdom, in which there had been any enterprize tried, in behalf of King Robert; excited his brother Edward Bruce, to make a new attempt upon Galloway. This country; naturally almost inaccessible, on account of its rocky hills, wild heaths, deep vales, rivers, lakes, morasses, and impervious forests; was also fortified; both on the coast; and amidst the lakes, and on the banks of the rivers, in its interior parts; with many towers and strongholds; which had escaped destruction in the inroads by which it was lately ravaged, or had been since renewed. The Galwegian force consisted partly of Macdowall, with his friends, native inhabitants of the country; in part, of English troops, sent to their assistance, under the command A. D. 1308.

* Barbour, Book IX.

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mand of John de St John, and Ingram Umfraville. As Edward Bruce advanced into Galloway; probably from *Balloch* Caſtle, ſeated on an iſlet in *Loch-Doon*, at the confine between Carrick and Galloway; he was encountered, ere he had penetrated far; by the men of Galloway, at the paſſage acroſs the river Dee, about ſix miles, above the place of its junction with the Ken. There, on an open heath, at a place ſtill named *Craignell*, a deſperate fight enſued, in which, however, the Brucians were eaſily victorious. Purſuing, with their uſual impetuoſity, the fleeing enemy, they overran the country almoſt to Buittle-Caſtle; to which they durſt not yet lay ſiege. But, the ſea-coaſt of Galloway, was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, or of Scottiſh vaſſals, willingly obedient to them: And the alarm excited by this ſudden re-appearance of a Brucian force, and by the terrible fury and ſucceſs of their invaſion; prompted thoſe who commanded, here, for the Engliſh King, to draw all their troops together; and to riſk the event of a battle, which might effectually determine, what ſovereign, the inhabitants of this diſtrict, were henceforth to obey. Edward Bruce, continuing his excurſions from the faſtneſſes which he had won, in the interior country, was met by the whole Engliſh and Galwegian force, on a plain, near *Caer-Uchtred*, on the banks of the river Cree. Taking advantage of a foggy morning; while the

two

two armies were within a ſmall diſtance of each other, but had not yet joined in battle; Edward, with fifty horſemen, came, ſuddenly and unperceived, upon the enemy; and, ere they could recover from the confuſion into which they were thrown by this ſurprize, or diſcern the number of thoſe who attacked them; he drove them into panic flight; leaving to his infantry, no care, but to join in the purſuit and ſlaughter of the unreſiſting fugitives. Many were ſlain in the purſuit; and among others, Macdowall; whoſe oppoſition had hitherto been more formidable to the Brucians, than that of any other Galwegian chieftain. Neither the Engliſh, nor the native Galwegians could longer diſpute with Edward Bruce, the poſſeſſion of the open country. His ſtratagems were too numerous and artful, to be forſeen or fruſtrated; his activity was unwearied; the fury of his valour, was dauntleſs and irreſiſtible. He purſued his enemies into all their faſtneſſes and fortreſſes; and, in a ſhort time, had won every caſtle and ſtrong-hold; and had made all perſons ſwear allegiance to King Robert, from the Iriſh Channel to the banks of the Nith; and from the Solway-Frith, to the borders of Nithſdale and Carrick.*.

OTHER

* Barbour, B. IX:—Fordun. XII. 18:—Boeth. Lib. XIV. Folio, 312.

Sect. I. Ch. VI.

OTHER cares had occupied the attention of the young King of England, and of his favourites and courtiers; while the conquests of his father, were thus rapidly rescued from under his dominion. He had probably believed the force lately left under the command of de Bretagne; with the troops dispersed in garrison, in the different strong-holds throughout Scotland; and with the assistance of those Scots who still acknowledged the English government; to be fully sufficient for suppressing any remains of rebellion, that might still subsist in this country, and for preventing any future insurrection. Amidst the first news he received, of the growing distractions, he was induced to release Lamberton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, out of the confinement in which *he* had been, for some time, held; and to dismiss him, under sureties, into Scotland; that his good offices might there reconcile the insurgents, once more, to their duty. But, Lamberton, whatever pretences or engagements, he might think it necessary and honest, to make, in order to regain his liberty; was, in his heart, a zealous friend to the cause of Scottish independence; and there was no agreement effected by his intermediation. The appointment and dismissal of a succession of governors, in a very short space of time, betrayed the anxiety and irresolution of Edward's counsels concerning Scotland; but brought no effectual aid, to enable his servants, in this

Truce and negotiations.

this kingdom, to check the ſucceſsful career of the Brucians. Philip, King of France, was, in the mean time, induced, by the gallantry and proſperous fortune of Bruce, and by the evident weakneſs and folly of young Edward's government, to interpoſe his friendly ſervices for the purpoſe of procuring, at leaſt a truce, for ſome time, between the two contending nations. One truce, thus negotiated, another, and afterwards a third, ptotracted, for ſome years longer, the final overthrow of the Engliſh power in Scotland*. Sect. I. Ch. VI. A. D. 1309. 1310.

While the Engliſh *affected* to deſpiſe, and only prepared to oppoſe, the partizans and ſucceſſes of Bruce; this wiſe and brave Prince ſtill applied himſelf, indefatigably, to eſtabliſh and extend his power. Except only the Stewarts and their vaſſals, inhabitants of Lorn; almoſt all that diviſion of the Scottiſh kingdom, lying north from the Frith of Tay, on the one ſide, and from *Loch-Fine* on the other, acknowledged now no ſovereign but Bruce. To the ſouth, and the ſouth-weſt, Galloway, Ayrſhire, Clydeſdale, and Tweeddale, had been almoſt wholly conquered for him. Finding himſelf unable to take by aſſault, a town, ſo ſtrongly fortified as Perth, ſo powerfully garriſoned,

* Rymeri Fœdera III. 82. 94. 98. 160, 161. 127. 147, &c.

Sect. I. Ch. VI.

ſo abundantly ſupplied with proviſions and military ſtores, and ſo advantageouſly ſituate for receiving relief by ſea; he determined, however, to march to the north-weſt; to chaſtiſe the men of Lorn, for the defeat he had ſuffered from them at Dalry; and to compel them to forſwear their allegiance to the Engliſh King. The Lord of Lorne, aware of the approach of Bruce, with a force ſufficient for the conqueſt of his country, ſeized the paſs by the ſide of *Cruathan-ben*, between *Loch-Awe* and *Loch-Etive*, in order to preclude his nearer acceſs. It ſeemed that, theſe paſſes might be defended by an handful of men, againſt a great army; nor would it be eaſy for Bruce to enter Lorn, on any other quarter. Againſt Bruce and his forces, however, Stewart's precautions proved vain. Of this invading army, the greater part were light-armed; having only bows, quivers, and ſhort daggers; and being unincumbered with any weight of defenſive armour. Theſe, Bruce, dividing into two bands; ſent one company round the hill, that they might come, unexpected, behind the men of Lorn, who guarded the paſs; while he made the other aſcend the ſteep declivity of the hill, immediately above the ſtreight in which Stewart's people ſtood ready, in arms. With his ſpearmen and cavalry, he himſelf then charged the enemy, on their front. Beſet, in this manner, before, behind, and on the *flank*, the men

Conqueſt of Lorne.

A. D. 1301.

of

of Lorn were so far from being able to repulse the Brucians from the pass, that they were, themselves, cut in pieces, in it, without making any considerable resistance. Bruce next advanced to Dunstaffnage, the principal castle belonging to the Lord of Lorne; took this castle, and spoiled the country; compelling all the surviving inhabitants to swear allegiance to him; while Stewart, the chieftain, with difficulty, made his escape by sea, and fled to England *.

A fruitless expedition of the English into Scotland.

Edward, although already contemned and hated by his English subjects, on account of his weak attachment to an unworthy favourite, and his incapacity for discharging the functions of government; found leisure, at length, to turn his attention upon the affairs of Scotland; and summoned his military vassals, to attend him, on an expedition into this country. In the end of the month of September, in the year one thousand three hundred and ten, he arrived, with a powerful army, at Roxburgh on the confine between the two kingdoms. For whatever reason; he conducted this army onwards, by a route, which could not be easily passable; through the forest of Selkirk; in which such enemies as the Scots, might have

* Fordun. XII. 18.—Barbour, B. X:—Boeth. Lib. XIV. Fo. 312.

Sect. I. Ch. VI.

A. D. 1310.

have assailed them with great advantage. He advanced, in this direction to Biggar, and thence to Renfrew. But, Bruce and the Scots wisely avoided encountering the English in the open field; there was a severe famine in Scotland; the provisions which the English had brought with them, were quickly consumed; the inclemencies of the climate and the season, were greatly discouraging; the time was but short, for which the military vassals composing Edward's army, could be legally compelled to serve in the present enterprize; nor were they so submissive to his authority, or so much inclined to confide in the counsels and generalship of their King and his favourites; as voluntarily to prosecute, under *them*, such an expedition, when they had fair pretexts for desisting from it. Edward was, accordingly, obliged to turn his march backwards from Renfrew, without having accomplished any thing memorable, against Bruce and *his* subjects. He returned by the way of Linlithgow, and through Lothian, to Berwick; and there lingered in inactivity, till the middle of July, in the following year*.

The English King, after this retreat, retained hardly any possessions in Scotland; but a few of the

* Fordun. XII. 18:—Fœdera III. 223. 235. 230. 274. 283.

the ſtrongeſt caſtles; which Bruce was ſtill unable to make himſelf maſter of. Famine had indeed reduced the Scots to the neceſſity of feeding upon the fleſh of their horſes and dogs. But, they obtained ſome occaſional relief from the ſea-port towns of Flanders; and from England,—ſuch was the general hatred for Piers Gaveſton, the King's favourite, and the contempt for Edward himſelf!—there appears to have been, as well aid in neceſſaries, as uſeful intelligence, occaſionally conveyed to Bruce.

Farther tranſactions of the Scots,

In the beginning of winter, the Scots, impatient of any reſt from hoſtilities, till their country ſhould be wholly free; projected an expedition againſt the Iſle of Man; but, as it ſhould ſeem, were diverted from the proſecution of this enterprize. Many of the inhabitants of the Iſle of Man, were already ſufficiently hoſtile to Edward, and friendly to Bruce. It was by their intervention, and in their veſſels, that proviſions and military ſtores were conveyed to the Scots, in Galloway, from the weſtern coaſts of England*.

A. D. 1310-11.

Linlithgow-Caſtle taken.

Of the caſtles not yet recovered from the Engliſh, that of Linlithgow was a very important one. It was held for Edward, by a ſufficient garriſon. In the ſeaſon of hay-harveſt, in the year one thouſand three hundred and eleven, this garriſon were to

* Fœdera III. 233. 238.

Sect. I. Ch. VI.

to receive a ſupply of hay, for their horſes, from the neighbouring fields; and a peaſant, named William Bunnock, from whom it was purchaſed, was to convey it, in carts, into the caſtle. But, Bunnock ſecretly deteſted the Engliſh; and was ardently attached to the cauſe of Bruce. In concert with his neighbours and friends, he procured a party of armed men, to lie in ambuſh near, while he ſhould drive a load of hay, to the caſtle-gates. Within a cart, ſeemingly loaded with hay alone, he concealed eight of his comrades. His ſervant led the horſes; he himſelf following behind. The caſtle-gates were opened, without ſuſpicion, to admit the horſes, and the carriage, with the perſons who conducted them. No ſooner were the gates open, and the cart dragged between them; than Bunnock's ſervant, as his maſter had previouſly directed him, cut the ropes by which the horſes were yoked; and twined them out, looſe from the carriage. The eight armed men, concealed under the hay, then ſprang up, with a loud ſhout; which was the ſignal agreed upon, to call in, thoſe who lay, in ambuſh, near. The carriage blocked up the gates, ſo that they could not be ſhut. Bunnock, with all his aſſociates, ruſhed boldly in; eaſily maſtered the garriſon, at this time, unuſually weak, in conſequence of having, unſuſpectingly ſent out detachments through the country; and held the cattle ſecure from being recovered by

A. D. 1311.

the

the Engliſh; till he delivered it up to Bruce, his King*. Sect. I. Ch. VI.

About the ſame time, Edward, having, in vain, ſummoned his Barons to aſſemble at Roxburgh, in order to attend him, on another expedition into Scotland; was obliged to return home, without having been able to muſter any ſufficient force; and left his garriſons in Scotland, to defend themſelves, how they might. Bruce, ſoon after, carried the war into England, by a ſudden inroad through the Biſhoprick of Durham. The hope of plunder was, not leſs than a thirſt for revenge, a motive to this expedition, thus undertaken at a time when continued wars, for ſo long a ſeries of years, had waſted Scotland, almoſt to utter deſolation. He ravaged the whole Biſhoprick with fire and ſword; ſparing no ſex, age, or condition; and after deſtroying almoſt every thing that could not be brought away; returned home, with a large and rich booty, to the relief of his ſtarving ſubjects. Nor can it appear wonderful, that, in an age ſo fierce and barbarous; and between two nations exaſperated againſt one another, to the moſt inveterate and unrelenting hoſtility; there ſhould have been mutually inflicted, cruelties more atrocious, than in occaſional war

Inroad of the Scots into Durham.

A.D. 1311.

* Barbour, B. X.

Sect. I. Ch. VI.

war between civilized nations, in a more poliſhed and enlightened period*.

The Scottiſh King, upon his return home from his expedition into England, again turned himſelf, to the conqueſt of his caſtles, and the expulſion of the Engliſh garriſons. Perth, one of the ſtrongeſt, fortified places, in Scotland, had been powerfully garriſoned by the Engliſh, immediately before the battle of Methven. Although repeatedly aſſailed by the Brucians, ſince their firſt ſucceſſes in the north; it had ſtill withſtood all their efforts; unaſſiſted as theſe were, by the military engines then in uſe for battering or ſcaling the walls, and for diſcharging ſtones and other miſſile weapons, at ſieges. In the end, then, of this year of his firſt expedition into England, Bruce again inveſted the town of Perth with the moſt powerful force that he could muſter. For a conſiderable time, he preſſed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour; but, ſtill ineffectually; becauſe he wanted the neceſſary engines; and becauſe the garriſon, and the reſt of the people within the town, were too vigilant to be ſurprized by ſtratagem. Again, he was, reluctantly obliged to withdraw his troops, and to retire; leaſt famine, and the diſeaſes occaſioned by long encampment, on low, marſhy ground, in an

* Fordun. XII. 18:—Fœdera III. 284.

an inclement ſeaſon; ſhould cut off the flower of thoſe brave and faithful followers, by whoſe aid he had now nearly re-conquered Scotland. But, no ſupplies came from England, to relieve or reinforce the garriſon of Perth. Bruce would not deſiſt from his purpoſe, or ſuffer this ſingle walled town, for ever to baffle his efforts. Providing himſelf with ſcaling-ladders and ſuch other inſtruments as he could find, he ſpeedily renewed the ſiege; at a time when thoſe within the town, were pleaſing themſelves with the perſuaſion; that they were incloſed within impregnable walls, and had no future ſiege to fear. He choſe a dark night; and in its ſilence, taking a choſen band, conducted them, himſelf in perſon; partly wading, partly ſwimming; acroſs a ditch, deep, broad, and full of water, that ſurrounded the walls. The reſt were animated, on this, as on many other occaſions, by the example of the daring valour with which the King expoſed himſelf, the foremoſt, to danger. The conteſt among them, was, who ſhould firſt croſs the ditch, and by the ſcaling-ladders which they carried with them, mount the walls? This gallant and perilous enterprize ſucceeded. The King himſelf was the ſecond to enter the town. The garriſon and the townſmen were eaſily overpowered. In the caſtle, and in the ſtores of the merchants, a conſiderable booty was found, of thoſe things which the captors want-

Perth taken.

A. D. 1312.

Sect. I. Ch. VI.

ed the moſt, for the relief of their own neceſſities. The ſlaughter of the vanquiſhed, was humanely ſtayed, aſſoon as their reſiſtance ceaſed. The houſes were burnt, and the walls and fortifications, levelled with the ground. By this happy atchievement, all Perthſhire and Stratherne, were freed from ſervitude to the Engliſh, and reduced under the authority of King Robert*.

Deſigns and negotiations of Edward.

EDWARD of England, in the mean time, being ſtill at variance with his barons, and ſcorned by them, could employ no effectual means, to check the progreſs of Bruce's conqueſts. It ſeemed unavoidable, that all the caſtles which were ſtill held for the Engliſh, muſt fall, one after another, into the hands of the Scots. Edward, aſhamed to yield up what had been dearly earned by his father's toils and victories; yet unable to preſerve it; wavered between the concluſion of a peace with the Scots,—and the renewal of the war, with ſuch vigour, as to ſweep them at once from their land, by the invaſion of a mighty and over-running army. Bruce was no longer a puny rebel, wandering on the mountains, or ſkulking among the woods, with a few aſſociates of fortunes deſperate like his own: He was now the acknowledged Sovereign

* Fordun. XII. 18:—Barbour, B. IX:—Boeth. L. XIV. Folio, 312.

vereign of almoſt the whole Scottiſh nation, and maſter of almoſt all Scotland. By truces, Edward endeavoured, at leaſt to protract the period of the final overthrow of his authority in this kingdom; but, a truce propoſed from either of the two Kings, was regarded by the other with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt; nor was either nation willing to obſerve a truce, longer, than till the firſt fair occaſion of renewing hoſtilities with peculiar advantage. While Bruce puſhed his conqueſts; Edward frequently encouraged his principal Scottiſh adherents, by compenſating the loſſes they ſuffered in Scotland, with grants of lands for their ſupport, in England. Bruce, deſpiſing the feeble government of Edward, renewed his incurſions into the northern provinces of England, with the ſame ſucceſs, and the ſame terrible devaſtation, as before. Edward came northwards, to oppoſe him; but, wanting an army, and being in fear of his own barons; could undertake no enterprize for that purpoſe*.

A. D. 1312.

A. D. 1312.

Roxburgh-Caſtle taken by Douglas.

The ſiege of the Engliſh garriſons remaining in Scotland, was again more vigorouſly renewed. The caſtles of Dumfries, and Dalſwinton, on the confines between Galloway and Nithſdale, were now, at laſt ſurrendered to Edward Bruce. Douglas went againſt the caſtle of Roxburgh; and by a ſtratagem,

* Fordun. XII. 19:—Fœdera III. 313.

Sect. I. Ch. IV.

ſtratagem, took it. The commander of the garriſon, was Guillemin de Fiennes, a brave Burgundian Knight. Douglas, awaiting the evening of Shrove-Tueſday; when the wonted vigilance of thoſe within the caſtle, would probably be drowned in feſtivity and riot; prepared ladders of ropes, for ſcaling the walls; and ſelected a truſty band, to accompany him, on the enterprize which he meditated. On the deſtined evening, he and his companions, putting on frocks, to hide their armour, repaired to the vicinity of the caſtle. The watchmen perceiving them, from the battlements, in the darkneſs of the night, miſtook their appearance for that of ſome countryman's oxen. They advanced, without being detected, cloſe up to the caſtle-walls. Simon of Leadhouſe, who had framed the ladders of ropes, aſſoon as theſe were fixed by hooks, was the firſt who, aſcending the walls, made trial of their ſtrength and ſufficiency. Douglas, and the reſt of the band, followed. Leadhouſe, ere they could join him, had ſlain the watchmen, without ſuffering them to alarm thoſe within. Douglas and his party, then ruſhing forwards, ſurprized almoſt the whole garriſon, rioting in the great hall. The larger part were inſtantly ſlain, with furious carnage. A few, however, eſcaping with Fiennes, their commander, into one of the towers; made, from it, an obſtinate defence, for nearly two days; till, at length, Fiennes receiving

A. D. 1312.

a mor-

a mortal wound in the face; the reſt were entirely diſcouraged; and ſurrendered to Douglas. The captives were diſmiſſed, in ſafety, into England. The caſtle was, by the command of Bruce, ſoon after demoliſhed*.

Edinburgh-Caſtle taken by Randolph.

About the ſame time, Randolph, now reconciled to his uncle and King, was vigorouſly preſſing the ſiege of the caſtle of Edinburgh. Piers † Lombert, a Gaſcon Knight, with a ſtrong garriſon, plentifully furniſhed with arms and proviſions; held this caſtle for King Edward. Lombert's fidelity, however, falling by ſome means, under the ſuſpicion of the garriſon; they put him in confinement, by their own authority; and appointed another, from among themſelves, to command in the caſtle. Randolph, in vain, continued the ſiege: A. D. 1312. He wanted engines, to make an impreſſion on the maſſy walls, or the towering rock: There was no hope of quickly ſtarving the garriſon to ſubmiſſion: the garriſon were ſheltered in the buildings of the caſtle,—while the beſiegers were expoſed under the open ſky, to all the inclemencies of the ſeaſon and climate: The garriſon were defended by their walls and battlements, from the arrows and other miſſile weapons of the beſiegers,—but theſe had

* Barbour, B. X:—Fordun. XII. 19:—Boeth. Folio, 313

† *Alias* Leland.

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had no ſuch defence to protect them, when they were annoyed by the darts and arrows of the beſieged. At laſt, William French, a ſoldier in the Scottiſh army; propoſed to conduct a party up the rock, in the night, by a narrow and winding path; to where they might eaſily ſcale, a lower part of the exterior wall; and might thus maſter the garriſon, by ſurprize. French had, in his youth, ſerved as a ſoldier in the caſtle; and had been then accuſtomed, often to viſit, by night, a young woman whom he loved, in the town; ſecretly going and returning by the path which he now diſcovered to Randolph. His propoſition was readily liſtened to. Randolph, with thirty men; having French for their guide; ſet out, at midnight, to climb the rock, ſurmount the caſtle-wall, and ſurprize the garriſon. They proceeded, with extreme danger and difficulty, but without any unfortunate accident, till they had nearly reached the foot of the wall. They there found a ſmall receſs in the rock, in which, while they reſted for a few moments, they ſaw the watchmen paſs, on their rounds, above, but remained, themſelves, unſeen. No ſooner had the watchmen paſſed, and left all on that ſide, quiet, than Randolph and his followers fixed their ladders of ropes, and ſcaled the walls; French ſtill going foremoſt; Andrew Gray, following next; and Randolph himſelf being the third, to aſcend. Only a very few had gained the height

height of the wall; when the garriſon were alarmed, and aſſembled, to oppoſe them. The combat was fierce and deſperate; and although all the men of Randolph's party, ſoon aſcended, to ſupport him; yet, had not the commander of the caſtle been ſlain, while the event of the fight was ſtill doubtful; it ſeemed not improbable, that Randolph and his comrades might have all periſhed, amidſt the hoſt of foes, among whom they had, too daringly, ventured themſelves. But, by the fall of their commander, the garriſon were thrown wholly into confuſion; and their reſiſtance ſoon ceaſed. Uncertain concerning the numbers of the Scots, that had entered the caſtle; they fled in a panic terrour, as if the whole Scottiſh army had been upon them. Some eſcaped out at the gates; ſome threw themſelves down from the walls; others ſought concealment in the cellars and ſecret receſſes belonging to the caſtle; the greater part were ſlain. Lombert, the depoſed governor, was found in the dungeon; from which being immediately liberated; he entered eagerly into the ſervice of the Scottiſh King; thus juſtifying thoſe ſuſpicions which had prompted the garriſon to depoſe and impriſon him. Bruce ordered this caſtle, alſo, to be demoliſhed; and his authority was ſoon after, eſtabliſhed throughout all the circumjacent country*.

These

* Barbour, B. X:—Fordun. XII. 19.

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Expedition to the isle of Man.

THESE were not the only caſtles, that, about this time, were conquered out of the hands of the Engliſh. Edward Bruce, after his ſucceſſes in Galloway and Nithſdale, had proceeded into Renfrewſhire, and had there aſſaulted and taken the caſtle of Rutherglen; which had been, before, ineffectually beſieged. From Rutherglen, this gallant warriour went, ſoon after, northwards, and laid ſiege to Dundee. The King himſelf in the mean time, being now maſter of the ſouth-weſt diſtricts of Scotland, led an army out of Annandale into Cumberland; and ravaged that country; while its inhabitants in vain demanded ſuccours from their Sovereign, at this time overwhelmed and diſtracted with other cares. Turning from his expedition againſt the Cumbrians; and taking ſuch veſſels as he could find on theſe weſtern coaſts; Robert Bruce next paſſed over into the iſle of Man; into which a number of his Galwegian enemies had made their eſcape; beſieged and took Caſtle-Ruſſin; and once more brought this iſle into—at leaſt a temporary ſubjection to the Scottiſh crown. A chieftain named Macdowall; probably from Galloway; with a number of his followers, were ſlain by Bruce, in the rencounter which determined the fate of the iſle of Man*.

A. D. 1312-13.

WHILE

* Fordun. XII. 19:—Chronicon Manniæ, ſub anno 1313.

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While the King of the Scots in perſon, conducted his affairs with ſucceſs, in the weſt; and his brother Edward, on the eaſtern coaſt, earneſtly urged the ſiege of Dundee; the Engliſh King beheld, with anxious concern, the ruin of his power, and the diſtreſs of his remaining adherents in Scotland. Thoſe few perſons, on the Scottiſh border, who ſtill acknowledged themſelves, the ſubjects of King Edward; diſpatched, about this time, Patrick Goſpatrick, Earl of March, and Adam Gordon, of Gordon in Berwickſhire; to repreſent their diſtreſſes to their ſovereign, and to claim from him, immediate protection, and aid. His conceſſions and misfortunes had now begun to pacify the diſcontents, and to arouſe the loyalty of his Engliſh ſubjects; and he was enabled to ſoothe and encourage the deputies from Scotland, with warm promiſes of ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance. The news with which they returned, was eagerly received and credited by thoſe who ſtill held out againſt King Robert. From the ſiege and capture of Dundee, Edward Bruce had returned acroſs the Forth, and had beſieged the caſtle of Stirling. When he had for ſome time proſecuted the ſiege of this important place; and the beſiegers and the beſieged had mutually annoyed one another, with nearly equal ſucceſs; a truce was propoſed between them, by Mowbray, governor of the caſtle; on this condition, that, if the garriſon ſhould not obtain relief

Siege of Stirling-Caſtle; and Truce.

A. D. 1313.

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from England, before the end of June, in the enſuing year, they would then ſurrender the caſtle to the Scots. Edward Bruce raſhly agreed to this truce; without knowing the weakneſs and wants of the garriſon; or the confident hopes, which they had, by this time, been taught to entertain; that the Engliſh would, early in the next ſpring, again invade Scotland, with a force ſufficient to reconquer it, in that ſingle campaign. It was with no ſmall diſſatisfaction, that the King ſaw the fate of the only place of ſtrength which his enemies now held at any conſiderable diſtance within the confines of his kingdom, thus protracted for another year. But, he would not violate the engagements which his brother had entered into: He would not forfeit the character of a true knight, and a generous opponent, by preferring intereſt to ſtipulated faith: And he eagerly ſet himſelf to make ſuch preparations as ſhould defeat any invaſion that the Engliſh might, next year, attempt; and might thus diſappoint the garriſon in Stirling-Caſtle, of all relief *.

In this interval of truce, the Scots had leiſure to review with wonder and ſelf-congratulation, the long ſtruggle with which they had contended for their national independency; and that career of ſucceſs, in which their efforts had, now for ſome time, proceeded.

Before

* Fœdera III. 458, 482:—Fordun. XII. 20:—Barbour, &c

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Review of the rise and progress of the war.

Before the unfortunate death of Alexander the Third, the government of the Scottish kingdom had been established in such strength and order; that, had it not been for the occasion offered by the sudden failure of the direct male line of its monarchs; even the ambitious Edward the First would have hardly dared attempt to add Scotland, by conquest, to the dominions of the English Crown. The disunion of the Scottish nobles; the ambitious rivalship of the competitors for the regal succession; the indifference with which a feudal chief naturally regarded the fate of the country or nation to which he belonged, as long as the rights and properties of his own fieff were not infringed or impaired; the mean and narrow genius of John Balliol; and the extraordinary talents of Edward; had all combined to reduce the kingdom of Scotland, in the hands of Balliol, to the humiliating condition of a dependent fieff. Mutual jealousy between a Lord Paramount that dreaded the greatness of his vassal; and a vassal who, by abject submission, had made himself contemptible in his own eyes, and in the eyes of all around him; had soon and naturally embroiled Balliol with Edward; and gratified the ambition of the latter, by driving the former, in disgrace and terrour, from his tottering throne. After the deposition of Balliol, it appeared probable, that Edward might henceforth reign, the undisturbed sovereign of the Scots. But, there was

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a mutual repulſion between the characters of the Scots and the Engliſh, which ſoon drove the former into rebellion; and raiſed up a champion to defend their liberties; when all their nobles, and all the competitors for their Crown, had ungeneroufly deſerted this glorious cauſe. The jealous cabals, and thwarting oppoſition of the Scottiſh nobles; the powerful, military and political abilities of Edward; the want of arms and diſcipline, to aid the impetuous valour of the Scottiſh ſoldiers; had at length blaſted all the hopes with which the nation had been, for a while, encouraged to view the patriotic heroiſm of Wallace. At laſt, the ſpirit of Scottiſh independency, ſeemed to be, for ever broken and ſubdued. Scarcely any thing but frenzy, or deſpair could have prompted Bruce to riſe up in oppoſition to Edward, at the time, and in the circumſtances in which he had accepted the Crown from the hands of a petty band of adherents. The fortune of Edward for a while ſeemed ſtill to prevail, even againſt the perſonal talents, and the advantages of rank, and right, which Bruce poſſeſſed. But, the death of Edward the Firſt, and the weakneſs of his ſucceſſor; more than the brave perſevering efforts of Bruce and his aſſociates; had at length, nearly put an end to the uſurped dominion of England over the Scots. Such had been the progreſs, and the varying fortune of the

ſtruggle

ſtruggle for Scottiſh Liberty, which was ſtill prolonged.

Conduct of the Clergy, during the conteſt with England.

In the latter period eſpecially, of this contention; the moſt eminent among the Scottiſh Clergy, had acted a part, zealous and perſevering, in behalf of the national independency, which was ſcarcely to have been expected from the members of an opulent and ſelfiſh order, who, by the ſanctity of their character, might, with ſafety, have remained neutral. Wiſheart, Biſhop of Glaſgow, had favoured Wallace; and had even himſelf taken arms in ſupport of Bruce. Lamberton, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, was ſo zealouſly attached to the cauſe of Bruce, that no misfortune however calamitous, no engagement however ſolemn, could prevent him from returning continually into that confederacy which had been contracted between him and Bruce, ſome time before the ſlaughter of Comyn. Private attachments and connexions, or a liberal ſpirit of patriotiſm, might have had ſome ſhare in giving this impulſe, and this direction to the efforts of theſe eccleſiaſtics. But, they had a much more powerful motive in the intereſts of their own order, and of the national church. The Clergy of England, had pretended to a ſupremacy over thoſe of Scotland, ever ſince the firſt ſubjection of the Scottiſh Church to the See of Rome. Firſt the Archbiſhop of York; and afterwards the Archbiſhop of Canterbury;

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Canterbury; had upon various pretexts laboured to reduce all the Biſhops of Scotland into the ſubjection of becoming their ſuffragans. With the ſame ambition, the monks and other regular Clergy of England, had acquired ſeveral dependent and ſubordinate eſtabliſhments in Scotland; which were regarded by the Scottiſh Clergy, with exceſſive jealouſy and diſcontent. There was a rivalſhip between the churches of the two nations, perhaps ſtill more keen, rancorous, and ſuſpicious, than that which prevailed between their two monarchies. With the independency of the civil government, that of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of Scotland, muſt, alſo, have fallen. The Scottiſh Biſhops fancied, that they already ſaw the primacy of St Andrews, and the venerable, ancient honours of the See of Glaſgow, humbled before the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York. The monks, priors, and abbots dreaded, leaſt the revenues of their monaſteries ſhould be withdrawn, for the benefit of monks and monaſtic eſtabliſhments belonging to England; and leaſt all hopes of future endowments from the pious generoſity of rich laymen, ſhould be, by the ſame means, cut off from *them*. And hence the unholy valour of Wiſheart; the artifices and duplicity of Lamberton; thoſe intrigues at the Court of Rome, which procured comminatory exhortations from the Pope, intended to make Edward the Firſt relinquiſh his uſurped authority

authority over Scotland; and that artful and ſteady reſiſtance of the whole Scottiſh Clergy to the attempted ſubjugation of their country, which afterwards drew upon themſelves, the threats of the Holy Father.

Improvement of the Scots in the military art.

The long wars between Scotland and England, had formed the Scots, much more than in any previous period, to the ſkilful and diſciplined practice of the military art; as it was then exerciſed among the other nations of Europe; and as it beſt ſuited the local nature of ſuch a country as Scotland. Formerly, the Scots, however brave and prodigal of life, were fit only for marauding ravage, or for the momentary fury of a ſudden onſet. But, they had, within theſe laſt twelve or fifteen years, acquired the diſcipline, the ſtratagems, and the arms which were in uſe among the moſt eminently martial of their neighbours. They could defend a caſtle with the moſt obſtinate patience and valour: They could urge a ſiege by regular approaches and aſſaults: In ſtratagems and the arts of ſurprize, they were inconceivably ſubtle and daring: They now knew, how to poſt themſelves advantageouſly, and to reſtrain that frantic temerity which formerly rendered them incapable to avail themſelves of a favourable poſition for battle or encampment; although they ſhould even have, for a few moments, taken poſſeſſion of it: On the field of battle, their cavalry,

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cavalry, their ſpearmen, their ſlingers, their archers, could now arrange themſelves in juſt order, and fight in concert, without diſperſing themſelves, ſingly, among the enemy. Not one, but many Wallaces ſeemed to have ariſen among the Scottiſh nobles. The King himſelf, his brother Edward, Douglas, Randolph, Campbell, Stewart, and ſeveral others; were among the braveſt ſoldiers, and the moſt ſkilful commanders in Chriſtendom; and were all inſpired with the ſame impaſſioned patriotiſm, which had prompted the heroic deeds of Wallace. Even the peaſantry, and the meaneſt ſoldiers who followed the banners of Bruce, began to feel within themſelves, from long ſucceſs, a confident and exulting courage, which fancied one Scotſman to be equal in combat, to ſeveral Engliſhmen. Final ſucceſs, now ſo nearly attained, ſeemed to promiſe, not only to Bruce, but to almoſt all his adherents, glory, opulence, liberty, dominion. Should they, at laſt fail; the Engliſh exaſperated by the immenſe loſſes *they* had ſuſtained, and by the long reſiſtance which *they* had experienced; might be expected to deſtroy the Scots, without mercy; and to reduce their country, almoſt to the utter deſolation of an uninhabited waſte.

Thus, the recollection of the whole progreſs of the preſent conteſt for the national freedom; the

conſideration, that the clergy conſented almoſt in one voice with the laity, becauſe the independence or ſubjection of the church, was eſſentially involved in that of the ſtate; the exultation of paſt ſucceſs; the conſciouſneſs of being inferior to their enemies, neither in valour, in diſcipline, nor in their counſels; the neceſſity of final triumph, to avert total ruin; and the perſuaſion, that the eyes of mankind were turned upon the conteſt, with awful admiration of their fortitude and courage; all combined to encourage the Scots, to make, yet, one mighty effort, in order to defeat the invaſion now threatened by the Engliſh; and for ever to drive theſe ambitious, oppreſſive neighbours from their uſurped dominion over Scotland. Towards the north and weſt, all was quietly obedient to the authority of King Robert. There was no longer a neceſſity for dividing the force and the counſels of Bruce's followers, upon many ſeparate enterprizes. The grand object of the national exertion, was, only to protect and extend the ſouthern frontier; and to intercept all relief from the garriſon in Stirling-Caſtle. The King ſummoned all who could bear arms, to aſſemble to his ſtandard at Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling. The whole nation were unanimous with the monarch of their choice: Vaſt preparations were made: And a mighty concourſe repaired in arms to Torwood*.

Preparations againſt an invaſion by the Engliſh.

A. D. 1313-14.

* Fordun. XII. 19, &c.

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Preparations of the Engliſh for the invaſion.

Nor were the Engliſh King's promiſes of relief to the garriſon at Stirling; or his threats of a powerful invaſion, which ſhould once more ſubdue the rebel Scots; only vain pretences, to be ſuffered to paſs away, without any exertion, on his part, to accompliſh them. Edward had at laſt been deprived for ever, of his favourite Piers Gaveſton; and a temporary reconciliation had, in conſequence of this event, been effected between him and his Barons. His affairs in France, in Ireland, and in England, were, at length, with difficulty, reduced to ſuch a ſtate, as to permit him to undertake a new expedition into Scotland. The Engliſh nation were roufed to a ſenſe of the diſhonour caſt upon them, by the ſucceſſes of a handful of Scottiſh rebels; who had been ſlighted, as almoſt too contemptible to deſerve ſerious oppoſition in the field. Arms and military ſtores were provided, in abundance. From all England, from Wales, from Ireland, even out of France; all the military vaſſals of King Edward, with the quotas of armed men which they were, reſpectively, obliged to furniſh; repaired, at his ſummons, to join his ſtandards; as he advanced to Werk-Caſtle; the place appointed for the general rendezvous and muſter of the whole army intended for the invaſion of Scotland. A fleet ſailed along the eaſtern, and another on the weſtern ſide of the iſland, to attend the movements, and aid the operations of the land-army; and to ſupply

it,

it, from time to time, with provisions. The whole force of armed men that accompanied Edward upon this expedition, might amount to fifty or sixty thousand; beside a proportional number of servants, and of those other loose and disorderly followers who always attend the progress of a great army*.

Numbers and encampment of the Scots.

Meanwhile, the Scottish King, at Torwood, found himself at the head of an inferior indeed, yet not an extremely unequal, force. His regular, full-armed troops were, in number, about thirty thousand men. About fifteen thousand, loose and light armed marauders hovered around his camp; and served to augment, at least the seeming, if not the actual strength of his army. The soldiers and the leaders confided mutually in one another; and were all animated with one spirit, which encouraged them to believe themselves invincible. Yet, they wisely determined not to advance towards the borders of the kingdom, to meet the enemy; but, to await *their* approach, in a situation, in which, they might *both* maintain a sufficient check upon the garrison in Stirling-Castle; *and* prevent the invaders from coming so near the castle, as to relieve the garrison, without first giving battle to the Scottish

* Fœdera III. 463, 478. 481, 482:—Monachus Malms. P. 146, 147.

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Scottiſh army, and defeating them. Acquiring, by this counſel, the choice of the place of combat; the Scottiſh leaders poſted their forces in a field then known by the name of the *New Park*; the ſurface of which was partly low and marſhy; in part, dry, ſtony, and riſing with a gentle declivity. The ſmall ſtream of Bannockburn, advancing from the north-weſt, purſued its winding courſe, towards the ſouth-eaſt, along the right ſide, and on the front of this ſcene of encampment. Its banks were ſo ſhaggy, abrupt, and precipitous, as to form a ſort of natural entrenchment againſt the attack of the Engliſh cavalry; which the Scots chiefly dreaded. To add to theſe advantages of poſition, by a ſtratagem; Bruce directed narrow, but deep pits, to be dug; thick as the cells in a honey-comb; over all thoſe parts of the plain, by which it was likely, that the Engliſh horſemen might advance, to aſſail the front or the flanks of his army; and then to be looſely covered over with turf, making the ground to ſeem as if ſtill unbroken. On the higheſt part of the field; ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Brock's brae*; ſtood the royal tent; and a perforated ſtone, on that height, is ſtill pointed out, by the neighbouring peaſantry, as having been bored, and firſt placed there, to ſuſtain the King's ſtandard, at the battle of Bannockburn. Under his own immediate command, Bruce reſerved the rear diviſion of the army; the men of Argyle,

Argyle, of the Hebudæ, and of Carrick: To the experienced valour and prudence of Douglas, aſſiſted by young Walter Stewart, he confided the truſt of conducting the main force, in the centre: Randolph, now Earl of Moray, led the left wing: At the head of the right wing, was the King's brother, the impetuous Edward Bruce. In this poſture; brave to exultation and fury, yet not dangerouſly raſh, or undiſciplined; the Scots awaited, with impatience, the attack of that mighty army, with which the Engliſh monarch had now entered within their confines*.

The Engliſh were now at hand. From Werk-Caſtle, they had quickly come onwards, to Berwick. After a ſhort ſtay at Berwick, during which, new ſupplies of proviſions and other ſtores were probably furniſhed to them from on board the fleet; they eagerly renewed their march northward; advancing, by the way of Dunbar and Haddington. They came, exulting in their ſtrength and numbers; rather as in triumphal proceſſion, than as in a military enterprize of uncertain event. Joy, feſtivity, and riot prevailed through all the hoſt; and they brought with them, an *abundance* of all the neceſſaries for ſubſiſtence; *which* had long been unknown in Scotland. The frivolous, and vain glorious

* Barbour, B. XI:—Fordun. XII. 20.

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glorious Edward had alſo in his train, a monk named Baſton, famous for writing ſuch verſes as were, in thoſe days, admired; that, this poet might witneſs the victories which *he* intended to gain; and might celebrate their praiſe. All in Scotland, who were, as yet, friendly to the dominion of the Engliſh, or hopeleſs of a reconciliation with Bruce, joined the invaders, in their progreſs. They reached Edinburgh, without diſcovering any appearance of enemies to oppoſe them; and began to fear, that the daſtardly Scots might fruſtrate the chief purpoſe of their expedition, by retiring, for the time, beyond their moſt diſtant mountains, or even to the Hebudian Iſles. But, when they drew nearer to Stirling, they learned with ardent ſatisfaction, although not without ſurprize; that Bruce had gathered together no contemptible force; and that the Scots had at length gained courage to meet them in a pitched battle. They learned, that the hoſt which they were to aſſail, was ſtrongly and advantageouſly encamped; but their ſpies could not diſcern the covered pits, that were prepared to enſnare and diſable their cavalry. Cavalry conſtituted the principal force of the Engliſh army; and it did not appear probable, that the Scottiſh infantry, even though much more powerful in numbers than they actually were, could be able to withſtand *its* onſet*.

March of the Engliſh.

When

* Barbour, B. XI:—Mon. Malmſ. 146, 147.

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When the Engliſh had approached within a ſmall diſtance of the Scots; they were not a little ſtruck by the formidable and martial appearance which Bruce's ſquadrons made; by the advantageouſneſs of the ground which they had choſen; and by the cool and ſteady courage with which they remained in their ranks; appearing to await an attack. The firſt object of the Engliſh leaders, in theſe circumſtances, was, to draw the Scots, if poſſible, from their ground; or to relieve the garriſon at Stirling, before coming to an engagement. With a view, probably, to both theſe ends; Sir Robert Clifford, with eight hundred horſemen under his command; were ordered to make a circuitous march; ſo as to avoid the left wing of the Scottiſh army; and without coming to any rencounter with *them*, to join the garriſon. This gallant and well-appointed troop had arrived between the field of the Scottiſh encampment, and the town of Stirling, before their march was obſerved, or their purpoſe ſuſpected by the Scots. Randolph, whoſe concern it was, to watch and check the motions of the enemy, upon that ſide; was ſtung with indignant ſhame and grief; when he heard his King ſuddenly reproach his negligence; and ſaw Clifford with his company ſo far advanced towards Stirling, that it ſeemed now no longer poſſible to intercept or overtake them. Yet, the brave Scot, reſolving to periſh, or recover the honour of the day;

Attempt to relieve the garriſon in Stirling-Caſtle.

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day; took five hundred ſpearmen, from among the infantry, under his command; and inſtantly haſtened after, at full ſpeed. Taking a ſhorter way, than that by which Clifford led his party; Randolph had ſoon ſo nearly come up with thoſe whom he purſued; that Clifford could not with ſafety proceed to Stirling; but was forced to turn, and attack his purſuers. Randolph overjoyed to ſee, that Clifford's company were thus, in ſome meaſure, baulked of their firſt purpoſe; haſtily commanded his followers to form themſelves into a circular troop; and to maintain their ground with firmneſs; protending, all around, their long ſpears, to reſiſt the onſet of the enemy. The Engliſh ruſhed upon the Scottiſh troop, at full ſpeed, and with terrible impetuoſity. At the firſt attack, Sir William Damecot, one of the braveſt knights who accompanied Clifford, being parted from his companions, fell under the Scottiſh ſpears. His death did not diſcourage, but exaſperate the Engliſh. They preſſed upon the Scots with riſing fury, and with redoubled vigour, till they at laſt broke through the outer line of that valiant troop, and began to cut them down with dreadful havock. Meanwhile, both armies, from their reſpective camps, beheld the combat; with mute, eager, trembling, impatient attention; anticipating, every man in his mind, the event of a general engagement, from the fortune of this ſkirmiſh; and ready, almoſt at

every ſtroke of death, which they ſaw dealt in the fight, to iſſue furious, forth, and to mingle in one general battle. The valour of Randolph and his comrades, ſeemed about to be overpowered by the weight, the force, and the ſuperior numbers of Clifford's cavalry. The generous and ardent ſoul of Douglas, would not endure the ſight. By the force of urgent, angry remonſtrance with the King; who could, as yet, hardly forgive his nephew for that want of vigilance, by which he had ſuffered Clifford to draw him into this ſkirmiſh; Douglas, at laſt, obtained leave to haſten with a reinforcement of freſh troops, to ſuccour and reſcue Randolph, his friend, and brother in arms. But, Douglas had not yet reached the ſcene of the combat, when he ſaw, that the Engliſh, wearied out by the reſiſtance they had met with, and alarmed at his approach; began already to ſlacken their efforts, and to retire before Randolph; while, on the other hand, Randolph's ſoldiers, animated by ſeeing their friends advance to ſupport them, and perceiving, that they had, themſelves, almoſt maſtered their foes; appeared to preſs upon the yielding Engliſh, with ſuch increaſing vigour and activity, that the brave five hundred could not fail to rout the enemy, even without farther aid. "Stay!" then cried Douglas, with magnanimous diſintereſtedneſs, to his followers; "Stay! the Engliſh "already flee; let us not leſſen the glory of our

Defeated by Randolph.

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"companions in arms, by undeſervedly dividing "it with them:" So ſaying, he halted with his company. Randolph and his fellow-combatants, ſoon joined them, victorious. For, the Engliſh army, however indignantly they might behold the event of the ſkirmiſh, could not advance to ſupport Clifford, without attacking the whole force of the Scots upon the advantageous ground which theſe then occupied. And it was, for the preſent, better to leave Clifford to his fate*.

Yet, in the mean time, the main army of the Engliſh, advanced, in order of battle, almoſt cloſe up to the Scots; and endeavoured, by inſults, and every other means of provocation, to draw them from their ground. The braveſt warriours of either army, rode about, with a ſportful oſtentation of valour, on the open ſpace, between the two oppoſite front ranks; thus hurling mutually, a contemptuous defiance; and challenging one another to ſingle, or to univerſal combat. Amid the general ſuſpenſe and expectation, there occurred a new incident; which, combining with the fortune of the rencounter between rhe parties of Randolph and Clifford; had a remarkable tendency to kindle new hope and courage in the ſouls of the Scots; and to inflame the breaſts of the Engliſh with more ardent

* Barbour, B. XI. XII:—Trivet. contin. P. 14.

Gallant deed of the Scottish King.

ardent ſhame and indignation,—now not altogether unmixed with doubt and fear. While Bruce rode along the foremoſt line of the van diviſion of his own army; encouraging his ſoldiers, giving out his orders to them, and inſpecting, as he paſſed the force and the arrangements of the enemy; he was perceived, and was diſtinguiſhed to be the Scottiſh Sovereign, by the Engliſh Knights, who rode about, in the ſame manner, in the front of their own lines. At ſight of him, ſo near to them, and expoſing his perſon ſo incautiouſly; Henry de Bohun, one of thoſe Knights, iſſued haſtily from among his companions; aſpiring to atchieve a deed which might cover his own name with immortal honour; and might perhaps put an end, at once, to the preſent war. The King perceived his hoſtile intent, and awaited his approach. They both raiſed their battle-axes to ſtrike, as they came together. Bohun, making a mighty effort, hoped to fell Bruce at once to the ground; but, erring in his aim, did not even touch the armour of his royal adverſary. Ere he could recover his erect poſture on his horſe; Bruce's battle-axe, wielded with terrible fureneſs, force, and velocity; cleaved, at a ſingle ſtroke, the helmet and ſkull of the Engliſh Knight; and Bohun fell, lifeleſs, to the ground, in ſight of both armies. Aſtoniſhed at the wonderful dexterity and ſtrength, which the Scottiſh King had diſplayed in this combat; thoſe Engliſh

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Engliſh Knights, who had come up, at ſome ſmall diſtance behind Bohun; inſtead of advancing, to avenge his fall, retreated backward, within the *ranks* of their own army. The Scots, with a loud ſhout of joy and gratulation, received their King into the midſt of his forces; as he returned from performing this glorious deed. When his nobles gathered around him; blaming, with friendly and loyal zeal, his too raſh expoſure of his own life, to danger; he, without exultation or excuſe, expreſſed, only, his concern; that, in ſlaying Bohun, he ſhould have broken his truſty battle-axe.—Theſe events; the defeat of Clifford, and the fall of Bohun; happened on Sunday, the twenty-fourth day of June, in the year one thouſand three hundred and fourteen.—It was now the *eve* of a day big with the fate of one of the moſt eventful battles, ever fought in Scotland*.

A. D. 1314. June 24.

Battle of Bannockburn.

All night, the two armies reſted under their arms. At the dawn of day, the Engliſh moved onwards to the attack. Among the Scots, maſs was, in the mean time, ſolemnly celebrated by the Abbot of Inchaffray, on an eminence, within ſight of the whole army, and on their behalf. Their King, conferred the honour of knighthood; as was uſual upon ſuch occaſions; on Douglas, Stewart,

* Barbour, B. XII.

art, and ſome other young nobles; then exhorted all his hoſt, to maintain their ground with firmneſs, till they ſhould conquer, or glorioufly periſh; reminded them of the unpardonable wrongs they had ſuffered, and of the ills which they had, in their turn, inflicted; warmly ſuggeſted to their hopes and fears, that the ſecure independence, or laſting ſlavery of their country, depended on the fortune of this day's engagement. The foremoſt diviſion of the Engliſh army, led on by the Earls of Hereford and Glouceſter, advanced in one compact ſquadron, and began the battle, by attacking the right wing of the Scots, which was commanded by Edward Bruce. The reſt of the Engliſh came up, under the immediate command of their King himſelf, to ſupport and purſue the movements of the van. While the Engliſh were ſeen to begin the fight with the attack of the Scottiſh right wing; Randolph eagerly led on his victorious troops of the left wing, to attack the Engliſh oppoſite to them. Douglas, and Walter Stewart, in the ſame manner, ſoon brought into action, the central columns that were under their command. And, the battle was thus joined, from one ſide of the field, to the other. The Engliſh warned by the defeat of Clifford's cavalry, on the preceding day, had brought their infantry, and particularly their

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their archers, foremoſt, into this day's engagement*.

The battle raged with dreadful fury. The combatants ruſhed together, with loud ſhouts; and to theſe ſucceeded the clangour of ſhields, the craſh of breaking ſpears, the rattling of quivers, the twanging noiſe of bow-ſtrings, the cries of the wounded, and the groans of the dying. The long ſhafts of the ſpears, were, for the greater part, quickly broken; and the ſpearmen, then penetrating, mutually, through the adverſe lines, fought, hand to hand, with their ſmaller arms. But, the archers, and thoſe armed with other miſſile weapons, who wore little defenſive armour, and fought from a diſtance, made a much greater, reciprocal havock, than took place among the ſpearmen. The Scottiſh King, with that part of his army which was retained in reſerve, beheld from a height in the back-ground of the field, the execution of thoſe movements which he had concerted with his generals, and the fluctuating courſe of the battle. He ſoon obſerved, that the Engliſh bowmen, by their ſuperior dexterity, and perhaps by the wider range of their bows, greatly overmatched the Scottiſh. With a coolneſs and promptitude of mind, not inferior to that daring courage which he

* Barbour, B. XII.

he had, at other times, diſplayed; he inſtantly diſpatched Sir Robert Keith, with five hundred light horſemen, upon the perilous ſervice of riding into the thickeſt throng of the Engliſh archers; where they appeared the moſt ſorely to annoy the Scottiſh; and of thus diſperſing them, or hewing them in pieces, with the battle-axe. Keith and his company, taking a circuitous courſe, came upon thoſe archers, at one ſide, before they were aware of his approach or intentions, and accompliſhed his enterprize with complete ſucceſs. The fortune of the battle was thus reſtored to an equality, in the only part of the field, on which it had threatened to turn againſt the Scots; and they now appeared to fight, every where, with a fair proſpect of victory. The conflict was, however, ſtill obſtinately prolonged, with deſperate valour, and with great ſlaughter, on both ſides. It might ſeem, here and there over the field, to languiſh; but this was only where the vigour of the combatants was wearied out by long exertion; not becauſe their mutual rage was, in any degree, ſatiated or overcome. Bruce thought it, at length, time, to conduct into the battle, thoſe freſh troops, which he had hitherto kept in reſerve. All the Engliſh forces were now, engaged, as far as the diſadvantages of the ground would permit. But, the field was too narrow, to allow them, ſufficiently to expand the wings on either ſide, or even to open and ſpread out their central

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central column, with due effect: They were, in ſome places, crowded together, ſo as to be hindered from freely wielding their weapons: The banks of Bannockburn, and the deceitful pits prepared, by the Scots, either prevented the greater part of the Engliſh cavalry from advancing into the action, or entangled and diſabled them, as they came raſhly onwards. Already relaxing their efforts; the Engliſh began to give way, and to loſe ground rapidly; when Bruce with the Scottiſh reſerve, ſhewed themſelves in the fore-front of the battle. The Engliſh leaders ſtrove to rally their troops. But, while they made their laſt deſpondent exertions, the ſtragglers and looſe, unembodied attendants, belonging to the Scottiſh army; in number, about fifteen thouſand perſons; who had been diſmiſſed from the camp, before the battle; ſuddenly appeared upon the weſtern heights; and ſeemed to be another great army approaching to re-inforce the Scots. This ſight ſtruck a general terrour into the hearts of all the Engliſh; which no efforts or encouragements of their leaders, could counteract. Aymer de Valence, perceiving, that the rout became univerſal, and that all was loſt, hurried King Edward from the field. The carnage was now terrible; the Scots making a great ſlaughter among thoſe who fled, without reſiſtance; and many of the braveſt of the Engliſh Knights, turning to ruſh upon certain death, rather than ſurvive to ſhare the ignominy

miny of their vanquiſhed King, and fellow-ſoldiers. The gallant Earl of Glouceſter, honourably fell, in a laſt attempt to rally the Engliſh ſoldiers around him. Sir Giles D'Argentine; one of the moſt renowned Knights of the Age; who had ſerved with great glory, in the Holy Land, againſt the Saracens, and in other wars; having here attended the Engliſh King, till Edward was about to betake himſelf to flight; refuſed to flee with the Monarch, or to turn his back, now, for the firſt time, before his foes; but ſpurring his horſe furiouſly on, and ſhouting, "an Argentine! an Argentine!" ruſhed with a deſperate impetuoſity among the enemy, where he ſaw them thickeſt; and was ſoon buried, with his horſe, under their ſpears*.

Flight and purſuit.

The feeble, unfortunate Edward led the flight, in the utmoſt trepidation; nor halted, till he was received by Goſpatrick, Earl of March, into the caſtle of Dunbar. Many of the fugitives were driven in the confuſion of the flight and purſuit, to the banks of the Forth; where plunging headlong, they periſhed in its ſtream. Many ſought protection, with the garriſon in Stirling-Caſtle, or even threw themſelves, in deſpair, on the open ſides of the hill on which it ſtood, and on the plain ſkirting its weſtern edge, below. The Scots urged the

* Barbour, B. XIII. &c.

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purſuit with unwearied activity, and inſatiable rage. Douglas, with a troop of ſixty horſemen, followed hard after the Engliſh King; and had ſoon ſo nearly overtaken him; that Edward might have been made priſoner; had not Douglas's ſlender company been too unequal in numbers, to attack the great force of cavalry, that fled with Edward. Yet, Douglas ſtill continued the purſuit; haraſſed the Engliſh rear, and cut off thoſe who, by reaſon of their wounds or fatigue, fell behind; till he had ſeen them enter, with trembling confuſion, the gates of Dunbar. Edward, after a ſhort time of refreſhment and reſt at Dunbar, haſtened by ſea, to Bamburgh, in Northumberland. The Earl of Hereford, with ſome followers, who had taken refuge, with him, in Bothwell-Caſtle, were ſoon after, made priſoners by Edward Bruce. Moubray, the governor of Stirling-Caſtle, was no ſooner ſummoned, in the name of the victorious King of the Scots, to ſurrender the caſtle, than he yielded it, faithfully, in compliance with the conditions of his former capitulation. Thoſe fugitives from the army, who had taken refuge round this caſtle, likewiſe yielded themſelves, without reſiſtance, to the mercy of their conquerors. Many, eſpecially of the Welſhmen who had followed the Engliſh banners, were miſerably ſlain by the peaſants who found them wandering about the country, naked, helpleſs, and not knowing whither to flee. The victors

victors eagerly spoiled the tents and corpses of their routed and fallen enemies. The armour, the horses, the provisions which they seized, and afterwards the sums of money with which their prisoners were ransomed, were almost sufficient to overpay the devastation of their country, and the long perils and afflictions which they had, themselves, undergone. Among other precious articles of booty, the English King's privy seal fell, with two of his secretaries to whose custody it had been committed, into the hands of the Scots. Baston, the poet, whom Edward had brought with him, to celebrate his intended victories; being also made prisoner; earned for himself, kind usage, and liberty, by the composition of a poem, in praise of the heroism and glory of the conquerors. Several of the most illustrious prisoners, were, for different reasons, generously dismissed from their captivity, without ransom. After the rage of the battle had ceased, none were butchered in cold blood. Funeral honours were humanely granted to the bodies of the English Chiefs who had fallen on the field of battle. The bodies of the common soldiers were more hastily, and with less solemnity, interred by heaps together, in deep pits. The Earl of Hereford, and with him perhaps also some other noble prisoners, were after some time, exchanged for the wife, the sister, and the daughter of Bruce, the Bishop of Glasgow,

and

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and the young Earl of Marre. The number of the ſlain, as well on the ſide of the Scots, as on that of the Engliſh, appears to have been very great; but, has not been preciſely aſcertained*.

Such was the event of an invaſion which had ſeemed to threaten the inevitable, and irretrievable ruin of Scottiſh independence. Valour prevailed over numbers; counſel, over raſhneſs and premature exultation; a petty king who was loved and admired by the heroes that obeyed him, triumphed over the monarch of a great people, who was hated and deſpiſed by his own ſubjects; freedom ſpurned tyranny to the earth, and cruſhed his neck in the duſt. The ſtruggles of even the feeble Balliol; the heroic efforts of Wallace; the firſt enterprizes of Comyn; the violence under which Comyn fell; the coronation of Bruce; the ſufferings, the perils, the daring undertakings of Bruce and his adherents, for a period of eight years, during which the contention had, now, been by them prolonged; were all finally juſtified, and ſealed, as glorious, by the event of the battle of Bannockburn.

But, good fortune could no more beguile the Scots, at this time, into negligence and inactivity, than

* Barbour, B. XIII:—Fordun. XII. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

Inroad into England.

than could diſaſter depreſs them to torpid deſpondency. Quickly after the victory of Bannockburn, a body of troops was diſpatched, under the command of James Douglas and Edward Bruce, to make an incurſion into England, and to retaliate upon the terrified Engliſh, in their own country, thoſe miſchiefs which they had inflicted upon Scotland. Theſe troops traverſed and ravaged Northumberland; exacted a large contribution from the inhabitants of the biſhoprick of Durham; penetrated ſouthward to Richmond in Yorkſhire; burnt Appleby and ſome other towns in the weſtern diſtricts; and then, without having met diſaſter or oppoſition, returned homewards, with abundant ſpoils. To ſuch a degree, had the fear of the Scots, fallen upon their lately haughty neighbours; that an hundred Engliſhmen would now flee before two or three Scots. Nay, many of the Engliſh, to ſave themſelves, forgetting the ties of allegiance, and the attachments of patriotiſm; took part with the Scots; and were not aſhamed to aſſiſt in ſpoiling their fellow-countrymen, and in laying waſte their native land*.

Edward was now at York; and had ſummoned his parliament to concert new meaſures for the defence of the kingdom, in this ſeaſon of alarm, miſfortune,

* Barbour XIII:—Chron. Lanercoſt. apud Tyrrel:—Walſingham, 106.

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fortune, and disgrace. Their counsels tended little to encourage or relieve him. He did what he could, for the protection of his northern provinces, by appointing the Earl of Pembroke to the Lieutenancy and Guardianship of the country between the Trent and the Tweed. Bruce, with a moderation of mind, truly worthy of his high character, disdained not, while crowned with victory, and borne on a swelling tide of unvarying success, to sue his humbled adversary, for a peace. First, a messenger, to obtain a passport; and then, four Commissioners impowered to negotiate; were sent from the Scottish King, to the English Court, at York. Negotiation was, as yet, premature. The mutual and inveterate resentments of the two nations, were still at their height; the English would not yet own themselves to be finally baffled and overthrown,—by conceding that which it was, however, no longer in their power to withhold; the Scots would be content with nothing less, than the entire evacuation of their territories and confines, together with the full and absolute recognition of the independence of their state, and of the royal authority of the King whom they had chosen. Enraged, that his proffers of peace, were slighted, Bruce, even in the beginning of winter, led his forces upon another inroad into England. Again, unresisting terrour went before them; and ravage and havock, every where accompanied their destroying

Negotiations; and inroads into England.

troying courſe. They burnt the towns, maſſacred the inhabitants, ſeized and drove away the cattle. Cumberland propitiated their mercy by a temporary ſubmiſſion to the authority of their King, and by the payment of a very large contribution. The Scots then returned home; and remained in unwilling inactivity, for the reſt of the winter. They reviſited England, in hoſtile array, early in the ſubſequent ſpring. They ravaged the open country, as before; but were repulſed from the walls of Carliſle; and failed in an attempt to ſurprize the garriſon of Berwick*. Sect I. Ch. IV.

Bruce, almoſt ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, had been too much buſied in recovering his kingdom from the Engliſh, to have leiſure for regulating by new laws, the ſettlement and adminiſtration of its internal government. His gallant nobles, as the country was reconquered, had been re-inſtated in the poſſeſſion of their ancient eſtates, or had been permitted to appropriate the forfeited lands of the Engliſh party. Randolph had obtained the earldom of Moray; Douglas had acquired a wide extent of territory in Clydeſdale and Selkirk-foreſt; Campbell had been ſuffered to incroach upon the forfeited fieffs of the Stuarts of Lorne; to his brother Edward, the King had ceded his

Internal ſtate of property and diſtributive juſtice in Scotland.

* Fœdera III. 495. 497:—Chron. Lanercoſt. apud Tyrrel.

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his patrimonial earldom of Carrick. The caſtles; having been all, wiſely demoliſhed or diſmantled by Bruce, as they were ſucceſſively taken; becauſe to the Scots, the natural ſtrong-holds of the country, afforded a better protection, than any fortreſs; and becauſe that, without caſtles, the Engliſh could never retain poſſeſſion of Scotland;—did not now demand garriſons to occupy, or governors to command in, them. The violence, and the neceſſities of war, had, in a great meaſure, ſuſpended the adminiſtration of diſtributive juſtice; the Brucian, and the Engliſh parties acknowledging no mutual rights in one another; and each party, even among themſelves, not daring to enforce, with rigour, the rules of juſtice; leaſt diſcord and defection might thus be provoked. Agriculture had been unavoidably neglected. The flocks and herds had been almoſt exterminated. Even on the eſtates of the Church, induſtry had been almoſt wholly interrupted. No man could call any poſſeſſion, his own; for none knew, how ſoon he might be expelled by a more powerful claimant, or might be required to yield to a more ancient proprietor. In this unſettled ſtate of property, induſtry, and order, it was requiſite, that the King, with his clergy, nobles, and inferior vaſſals, ſhould ſeize the firſt moments of grateful pauſe, that were allowed them, from the troubles and the toils of war; and ſhould endeavour to reap the fruits of their labours and

ſufferings;

sufferings, in the adjustment of their respective claims, and the restoration of orderly government.

Transactions in Parliament.

A Parliament assembled at Ayr, on the twenty-sixth day of April, in the year one thousand three hundred and fifteen. It was composed by a very numerous attendance of *all the vassals of the Crown*; who held, or claimed to hold, estates by ghostly, military, soccage, or burgage, tenure. Their first act, was a solemn recognition of the rights, and the authority of Robert Bruce, as King of Scotland; with a profession of constant, inviolable allegiance to him and his heirs. They next described those persons whom they considered as having a right to inherit the Scottish Crown from Robert Bruce; in the particular circumstances of his family; and agreeably to the known laws of feudal succession. Those were, *first*, his own male children,—if any such should be born to him; *failing these*, his brother Edward Bruce, and the heirs male of Edward; *next*, Marjory, the King's eldest daughter, and her heirs; but on condition, that she should marry,—if during her father's life, with his consent,—if after his death, with the consent of the Estates in Parliament. They provided, likewise; that, in the event of the death of their present beloved Monarch, while the next heir to his throne, were still a minor, unfit to govern; or if he should leave no heir, whose right to succeed A. D. 1315.

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him, might be recognized, at once, without doubt or controverſy: In either of theſe caſes, Randolph, Earl of Moray, ſhould aſſume the Regency of the kingdom; till the heir to the throne, ſhould attain the years of majority; or till the Eſtates ſhould aſſemble to elect for themſelves, a new King. To enforce theſe proviſions, they then invoked the ſolemn ſanction, and the authority of the Church; and profeſſed, that they and their children were bound by her diſcipline; liable to be checked and humbled by her cenſures; and ſubject to be ſecluded by her execrations, if theſe ſhould be provoked by their guilt, from all the comforts of religion;—from the communion of the ſaints, on earth, or in heaven. After theſe regulations had been enacted, to prevent; for as much as was poſſible by foreſight; the recurrence of thoſe evils, ariſing from a failure in the lineal ſucceſſion to the throne; which had for ſo many years, waſted their country: the Parliament, in concert with their King, then turned their deliberations upon the meaſures neceſſary for the proſecution of the war with England, and for the ſettlement of the interior government. Proclamation was ordered to be made, that, all who had any claims to lands not in their actual poſſeſſion, ſhould produce thoſe claims, before the proper officers, within a year and a day; otherwiſe, the lands could not be reſtored to them. The King gave his daughter Marjory

Marjory, in marriage to young Walter Stewart. A mighty enterprize was concerted, in order to give a fatal wound to the Engliſh power, where it was the moſt eaſily vulnerable; and to gain a kingdom for Edward Bruce, and new fieffs and principalities to his brave brothers in arms. Of this enterprize, IRELAND was the deſtined ſcene*.

CHAPTER VII.

Abſtract of the Hiſtory of IRELAND. *Its invaſion by the Scots: Their victories: Their diſaſters: The death of Edward Bruce: And the final diſappointment of their enterprize.*

IRELAND; for which the flower of the Scottiſh forces, were now about to ſail from Ayr; was, next after Britain, the faireſt iſland in theſe ſeas. Like Britain, it was probably diſcovered and viſited by the Phœnicians and the Greeks; thoſe firſt commercial nations of the Eaſt; and by their colonies of Carthage, Spain, and Marſeilles. Perhaps, ere its exiſtence was known to theſe, or to any

Abſtract of the Hiſtory of Ireland.

* Fordun. XII. 24, 25:—Barbour XIII, *ſub fine*, and XIV.

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any other civilized people; it might receive its firſt human inhabitants, from Spain, from Britain, or even from Scandinavia; by means of ſome of thoſe innumerable accidents in the fate of mankind, which appear to have gradually diſperſed them over the earth, in the early ages of the world, without any grand deſigns, or extended foreſight in themſelves. When *Agricola* penetrated, at the head of the Roman legions, into the north-weſt of Scotland; he there gained ſuch information concerning Ireland, that he was ſtrongly tempted to invade it; and he might poſſibly have atchieved alſo the conqueſt of that iſle, had he not been, too abruptly recalled to Rome. The earlieſt obſervations and enquiries that were made concerning the relative circumſtances of Scotland and Ireland, diſcovered the language, the cuſtoms, the arts, the manners, the government, and the religion of the Scots and the Iriſh, to be the ſame. Their conſtant, mutual intercourſe, friendly or hoſtile, concurred, alſo, to ſuggeſt the conjecture, that they muſt be from one common origin; and the Scots of Iriſh, or the Iriſh of Scottiſh deſcent. Chriſtianity had not been long believed and preached in Britain, when an Apoſtle, out of the ſouth-weſt of Scotland, paſſed over into the contiguous iſle, and, with mighty ſucceſs, declared the tidings of the goſpel to the Iriſh. *Patrick*, their Apoſtle, found them to be a

rude

rude and ſimple people; without letters, legiſlation, or ingenious arts; thinly diſperſed over their territories; the willing ſlaves of a rude and groſs ſuperſtition, by which their habits of barbarous life, were confirmed and maintained; ſubject to Chiefs, who governed them without laws, but were obeyed, only when their commands were pleaſing, or when they enforced their will, by ſavage acts of cruelty; divided into innumerable, petty tribes; living in a ſtate of eternal warfare,—of inveterate and general hoſtility, almoſt every where exaſperated to exterminating fury. The zeal, the genius, and the artifices of Patrick, ſoon triumphed over the unſkilful impoſtures of the *Druid* prieſthood. He won the Druids, and the bards, their brethren, diſciples, and aſſiſtants; to eſpouſe his doctrines, and to aid the propagation of them. Chriſtianity, as he taught it, was accommodated to the ignorant prejudices, and the rude manners of the people to whom it was preached. It was ingrafted upon the pretences of Druidiſm, and blended with the traditionary tales of the bards. In this manner, obtaining quickly an univerſal reception; it ſeemed, for a while, to mitigate the ferocity of the new converts, to civilize their barbariſm, and to ſubdue them to the obſervance of that ſublime morality which it taught. But, even while it withdrew to a life of religious ſecluſion, in cells and convents, a greater

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number of men and women, than had been abſtracted from profane ſociety, by Druidiſm; while the Iriſh ſent out miſſionaries to convert their kindred neighbours of the Hebudian iſles: The primitive ſavageneſs, and barbariſm of the people, even then prevailed over the genius and ſpirit of their religion; ſo that Chriſtianity did not ſo much exalt and refine the character of the native inhabitants of Ireland, as ſuffer, itſelf, a debaſement and corruption, in the manner in which they underſtood and believed its doctrines, and practiſed the rites of its worſhip. The *Anglo-Saxon* conquerors of Britain, extended not their ravages or colonization to Ireland. A caſual expedition by Egbert of Northumberland, againſt the Iriſh, ſpread, for a time, devaſtation and carnage over ſome part of their north-eaſt coaſt; but accompliſhed no permanent effects upon their government or manners. An occaſional intercourſe was ſtill carried on; and coloniſts alternately went and came; between the eaſtern coaſt of Ireland, and the oppoſite ſhores of Britain from Caithneſs to Cornwall. When the *Norſe-men*, in the eighth and ninth centuries, deſcended, in naval expeditions for piracy or conqueſt, upon the coaſts of the middle and weſtern countries of Europe; Ireland ſoon engaged their notice, and became a ſcene of their depredations and colonial ſettlement. After various temporary deſcents, which had

had no farther object, than the acquiſition of plunder; they invaded Armagh, with a mighty force; conquered a large extent of territory; and eſtabliſhed, there, a new monarchy; which, within leſs than half a century ſubſequent, reduced all Ireland under its dominion. A long ſeries of ſtruggles followed, between the Norſe-men ſtill ſtriving to maintain, to confirm, and to extend their power; and the native Iriſh, labouring to break the yoke of ſervitude, and to expel the ſtrangers from their iſland. The Norſe-men, were, in the progreſs of their contentions; converted from paganiſm, to Chriſtianity. The Iriſh Clergy were, during the ſame time, partially reconciled, and ſubjected to the Church of Rome. At laſt, the deſcendents of the invaders, ceaſed to be regarded as foreigners: The Norſe-men, and the Old Iriſh, were blended together into one people: The former inſenſibly aſſumed the language and manners of the latter; and, in turn, communicated to *them*, their arts and inſtitutions. Ireland was now divided into many principalities; as Britain had been, in the days of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, and the Strathclydian, Scottiſh, and Pictiſh kingdoms. Sometimes, one of thoſe Iriſh Princes, poſſeſſing wider dominion, or a more illuſtrious, perſonal character, than the reſt; attained an acknowledged ſuperiority over them; ſimilar to that which ſome of the Anglo-Saxon Monarchs

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narchs of all England, gained, for a time, over the petty, but independent Princes who poſſeſſed the reſt of the Britiſh iſle. Whatever legal or political inſtitutions held any fixed exiſtence among them, had been introduced by the Norſe-men; or had originated in the influence of the Clergy, and in the imitation of the order of the Chriſtian Church. The firſt cities in Ireland, were built by the Norſe colonies: The laws of *Taniſtry*, were adopted from them: The various ſpoils of their piratical expeditions; gold, ſilver, braſs, and iron, and many precious productions of the Arts; being brought by them, into Ireland, and there depoſited or loſt; were, in a future age, to be miſtaken for relics of the imaginary civilization of the Iriſh, in ſome very remote period of unrecorded antiquity.

While thus occupied, and in this ſtate of government and manners; Ireland and its inhabitants began, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to become continually more and more known to the Engliſh. Fugitives from England, on account of crimes or oppreſſion, were accuſtomed to find refuge in Ireland. The Welſh, in the courſe of thoſe long contentions, by which they reſiſted the extenſion of the Engliſh dominion, obtained from the Iriſh, frequent aid. The Engliſh Clergy had laboured, with ſome ſucceſs, to reduce thoſe

Engliſh conqueſts in Ireland.

of

of Ireland, into a dependency upon the Engliſh, metropolitan See of Canterbury. At length, in the uſual ſpirit of thoſe unquiet times, the Norman Monarchs of England, began to meditate the conqueſt of Ireland. Henry the Second obtained a bull from the Pope, by which he was formally authorized, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt and his pretended vicegerent, to invade and ſubdue the Iriſh people; on condition, that he ſhould reduce them univerſally, to adopt the Romiſh ritual of worſhip, to own the ſupremacy of the Holy Father, and to pay a tribute to St Peter. The inteſtine wars of the Iriſh, ſoon preſented an opportunity for the Engliſh, to intermeddle in their affairs. One of their Kings, overcome in war, and expelled from his ſmall kingdom, by a more powerful neighbour, ſought protection and aid from Henry. Henry permitted Richard Earl of Strongbow, to undertake an expedition, for the purpoſe of reſtoring Dermod, the exiled prince, to his throne. The Engliſh force, which was, in conſequence of theſe tranſactions, introduced into Ireland, obtained eſtabliſhments, by the ſucceſs of their enterprizes; and within no long time, ſubjected a conſiderable extent of territory, along the eaſtern coaſts of this iſle, to the ſupreme dominion of the Engliſh Crown. Dublin, Wexford, and ſeveral other places of ſtrength which had been founded by the Norſemen, fell into the hands of the Engliſh. After

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ſome time, King Henry himſelf, undertook an expedition into Ireland. The Iriſh chiefs ſeemed to contend, who ſhould firſt make his peace with this mighty monarch, by unconditional ſubmiſſion. Only the princes of Connaught and Ulſter, ſteadily maintained their independence. The Iriſh Clergy, in a national aſſembly, acknowledged Henry for the Lord and Sovereign of Ireland; and adopted the ritual of the Engliſh Church, as the rule of their eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and worſhip. Even the laws of England, were haſtily accepted, to regulate the ſocial relations, and the adminiſtration of diſtributive juſtice among the Iriſh. Due meaſures were taken for the maintenance, and extenſion of the Engliſh power; and Henry then departed out of the iſland. A long ſeries of unremitted wars, enſued; in which the Iriſh chieftains ſtill laboured to reſiſt the progreſs, and to recover the previous conqueſts, of the Engliſh; the Engliſh, impelled by all the furies of avarice, ambition, and revenge, ſtill purſued their career, and, although not without occaſional diſaſters, continued to enlarge their authority, and their poſſeſſions, among the Iriſh; the Engliſh nobles ſometimes combined with the Iriſh chieftains, againſt one another, or in rebellious oppoſition to their ſovereign; and the Iriſh chieftains, in like manner, often aided the conqueſts of the ſtrangers; while the Engliſh and the Iriſh mutually

ly caught the impreſſion of another's manners; and the continual warfare which prevailed throughout the iſland, contributed to throw all its inhabitants back, to a certain degree, into that dark and rugged barbariſm, out of which, even the Iriſh had begun to emerge. In the latter years of his reign, Henry ſent John, the youngeſt of his ſons, to conduct the Iriſh government and wars. But, neither during the cloſing reign of his father Henry; nor while he held the lordſhip of Ireland, under his elder brother, Richard; could John complete the conqueſt of the iſland; or reduce thoſe Iriſh who acknowledged the authority of the Engliſh government, into a ſtate of peaceable obedience to the laws. John, at length attaining, himſelf, to the ſovereignty of the Engliſh dominions; continued to manage the affairs, of Ireland, with conſiderable attention, but various ſucceſs; till the whole iſland was, at length, brought into nominal ſubjection to his power. From his ſon and ſucceſſor, Henry the Third, the Iriſh obtained the ſame charter of liberty, which the Engliſh Barons had wreſted from John. During the reign of Edward the Firſt, his Lieutenants laboured, with conſiderable ſucceſs, to eſtabliſh the Engliſh laws, as the only rules of government and civil intercourſe, in Ireland; ſeveral parliaments were here held; and Edward drew occaſional aid out of Ireland, for his French and Scottiſh wars. Edward

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ward the Second committed the lieutenancy of Ireland, for a ſhort time, to his favourite, Piers Gaveſton; nor did Gaveſton, in this inſtance, diſgrace his maſter's choice. But, the ancient Iriſh were not yet reduced to entire ſubmiſſion, or orderly obedience. They ſpurned and ſtruggled, like beaſts of prey in confinement; and were, for ever, breaking out into acts of outrage, reſiſtance, and deſperate hoſtility. We have ſeen, that, they lent aid to Robert Bruce in the beginning of his conteſt with the Engliſh. They rejoiced in his progreſſive ſucceſs. They were eaſily tempted to undertake new enterprizes againſt the authority of the Engliſh in their iſland, upon the promiſe of aſſiſtance from the Scots; whom they eſteemed their brethren; and who were, at this time, regarded, as heroes, invincible in battle; in valour, and military conduct, infinitely ſuperior to the Engliſh*.

Motives upon which the Scots undertook an expedition into Ireland.

The Scottiſh King and his nobles appear to have believed, that, the impatience with which the Iriſh endured the Engliſh yoke; the general weakneſs and diſorder into which the Engliſh government was at this time thrown, by Edward's errours and

* Compare Keating:—O'Halloran:—O'Connor's Eſſay:—Vallancey's Collectanea Hibernica:—Archdall's Monaſticon Hibernicum:—Leland's Hiſt. of Ireland, &c.

and misfortunes; their own unconquerable intrepidity and fortitude; and that high tide of ſucceſs which had, for ſome time attended all their exertions; might enable them, with the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh themſelves, to drive the Engliſh out of Ireland, as they had, already driven them out of Scotland. The ſuppoſed common deſcent of the two nations, ſeemed to impoſe it, as an indiſpenſible duty on the Scots, to interpoſe for the deliverance of their Hibernian brethren from foreign oppreſſion. A martial and adventurous ſpirit was kindled among the Scots, which would not permit them to lay themſelves down in the inert inactivity of that peace with England, which ſeemed likely to be the ſpeedy conſequence of their late ſucceſſes. Scotland was too narrow a theatre for the ambition of ſo many heroes. Each of the noble companions of Bruce, ſeemed worthy to be, himſelf, a king. The Iriſh chiefs of Ulſter, eagerly agreed to receive Edward Bruce for their ſovereign: And the iſland was ſo extenſive, and in ſuch a ſtate of inſubordination, as to preſent a fair field to the ambition, not only of Edward Bruce, but likewiſe of all the diſtinguiſhed Scottiſh Knights who were ready to accompany him, on the deſtined expedition*.

A. D. 1315.

In

* Fordun. XII. 25:—Annal. Hibern. apud Camden:—Barbour, B. XIV.

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A. D. 1315.

The landing and first enterprizes of the Scots in Ireland.

In the month of May, in the year one thousand three hundred and fifteen, Edward Bruce, with an army of six thousand men; and attended by Randolph, Philip Mowbray, John Soulis, John Stewart, Fergus of Ardrossan, and Ramsay of Ouchterhouse; embarked on board three hundred boats, and sailed from the bay of Ayr, for Ireland. On the twenty-fifth day of the same month, they landed near Carrickfergus, on the north-east coast of that isle. The Irish chieftains of the province of Ulster, immediately assembled; did homage to Edward Bruce, as their King; and gave him hostages, in pledge for their fidelity. In union with the forces which these chieftains brought, to augment it, the Scottish army was soon sufficiently powerful in numbers, to over-run the province, and to bid defiance to the English, and their adherents. With savage and unsparing fury, they depopulated and laid waste, all the English settlements in these northern parts of the island. Cottages, castles, villages, walled towns, were plundered, burnt, and levelled with the ground. No vigorous defence was attempted; for, the English were scattered over the country; and were taken unaware, and unprepared. The news of the landing of the Scots; of their junction with their Irish allies; of the desolation and carnage produced by their first enterprizes in the north; and particularly of the sack and

burning

burning of the towns of Dundalk and Atherdee; being ſoon communicated throughout all Ireland; excited the native Iriſh, every where, to joy, wanton fury, and uncontroulable inſurrection; but ſtruck the hearts of their Engliſh oppreſſors with ſolicitous alarm, and for a time, confounded their counſels with mutual recrimination and diſtruſt, wavering indeciſion, and inconſiderate temerity of purpoſe, which fruitleſsly waſted their ſtrength*.

YET, old De Burgh, Earl of Ulſter; a man, whoſe great military qualities had been long and glorioufly tried in the Iriſh wars; muſtered what force he could eaſily raiſe; and advanced to make head againſt the Scots. Butler, the Engliſh King's Lieutenant in Ireland, came with the troops of Leinſter, to take part againſt the common enemy. De Burgh ſcornfully refuſed this proffered aid; and Butler therefore returned to the protection of Leinſter, the province which was the moſt immediately under his own care. The Scots retired, till De Burgh's confidence, and haughty contempt of ſuch enemies, were increaſed to an unſoldierly ſecurity, and the moſt preſumptuous raſhneſs. Bruce, then, ſeizing an advantageous opportunity, ſent a large detachment of his forces, to

Defeat of de Burgh, Earl of Ulſter.

* Lib. Clonmacn. Monaſt. quoted by Leland, Vol. I. P. 266, 267:—Annal. Hibern. ut ſupra:—Barbour, B. XIV.

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to march unſeen, and make a ſudden attack on the enemy; while to *them*, his whole army ſhould ſtill ſeem; in conſequence of the art with which appearances were to be managed; to reſt within their camp. The artifice ſucceeded. The Engliſh being aſſailed, unexpectedly, on the flank, were quickly thrown into confuſion, and diſperſed in flight. Many of the principal perſons in De Burgh's army, were made priſoners. Others eſcaping to the caſtle of Carrickfergus; ſhut themſelves up in it; and determined to defend it againſt the Scots, to the laſt extremity. After ſome fruitleſs efforts to take this caſtle, Bruce deſiſted from the ſiege*.

Randolph, having, in the mean time, reviſited Scotland, now returned, with a re-inforcement of five hundred men, to recruit the army of Edward Bruce. Thus ſtrengthened, the Scots marched ſouthward, through Meath, into Kildare. In Kildare, they were oppoſed by Butler, the Engliſh King's Lieutenant, with an army much more numerous, than *their* whole force. But, the fears and mutual diſcord of the Engliſh, more than the arms of the Scots, ſoon drove Butler's forces into baſe retreat. The native Iriſh continued with growing eagerneſs, to aſſociate themſelves to the proſperous fortunes of their Scottiſh Allies. The

2 chieftains

* Ann. Hibern. ut ſupra:—Barbour, XIV.

chieftains of Connaught, with those of Meath and Munster, revolted from the English, and declared in favour of Edward Bruce. A famine, however, hindered Bruce, for some time, from prosecuting his victories southward, with that rapidity with which he might otherwise have advanced. He returned backwards into Ulster; but, on this retreating march, confirmed the reputation of his valour and success, by defeating the English under Lord Mortimer; who had again ventured to attack him, at Kenlis in Meath. Arrived in Ulster, Edward there awaited a season more favourable for new enterprizes; in the mean time, exercising the authority of a sovereign; repressing licentiousness; and enforcing the laws of civil order. His faithful Randolph went again to Scotland, to procure new succours*.

The English defeated in Meath.

After no long period of inactivity, Edward Bruce renewed the siege of Carrickfergus. The garrison withstood the besiegers, till a considerable body of English troops, under the command of Lord Mandeville, came, by sea, to their relief. On the next morning, after his arrival, Mandeville, unexpectedly, assaulted the Scottish out-posts; while all the Scots lay unarmed, in disorder, and asleep; except only a company of sixty men, under the

Carrickfergus taken by the Scots.

* Ann. Hibern. apud Camden.

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command of Neil Fleming; who kept watch, as the guard of the camp. Fleming, and the ſoldiers who watched with him, ſaw that, unleſs they alone, ſhould, for ſome time, reſiſt the aſſailants; rout and carnage muſt be inſtantly ſpread through the Scottiſh tents; and that, attempting, alone, to withſtand the whole Engliſh force, they muſt, all, inevitably periſh. While ſome went to rouſe the camp; Fleming, with the reſt, generouſly devoted themſelves to death, for their commander, and their fellow-ſoldiers. Their heroiſm ſaved the army. Before *their* reſiſtance could be entirely overcome; Bruce himſelf, with a company of thoſe who had been quartered neareſt to him, were in arms. Gilbert Harper, the foremoſt man in this company, and one of the doughtieſt warriours in Bruce's army; eagerly marked Mandeville, advancing at the head of his troops; ruſhed forward upon him; and to the great diſmay of the Engliſh, with one ſtroke of his battle-axe, laid their leader proſtrate on the earth. Macnicol, with two hundred Iriſh ſpearmen, in the mean time, came up, to ſecond Bruce's efforts; and the whole Scottiſh force was ſoon ready to ſuſtain and aid them. Terrour and confuſion were turned from the Scots, to the ſide of the Engliſh. They fled towards the caſtle. But, the garriſon had drawn up the bridge, and ſhut the gates; being too much alarmed for their own ſafety, to heed the fate of their companions.

Theſe,

Theſe, thus expoſed, without refuge, to the rage of the enemy, were almoſt all ſlain: and ſeveral of their veſſels, in the harbour, were, at the ſame time ſeized by the Scots and their Iriſh aſſociates. Fleming ſtill breathed, but was in the laſt agonies of death, when the engagement was thus happily terminated. His brave comrades had to a man, fallen gallantly beſide him. Edward Bruce; although too familiar to ſcenes of death, and of a nature too ſtern and rugged, to be eaſily moved to tender ſorrow, by the accidents of war; yet, could not refrain from bitter lamentation, when he beheld the mangled and bleeding bodies of thoſe generous and heroic men; and when he reflected on the magnanimity with which they had devoted themſelves to certain death, and on the ſafety and victory which he owed to their mortal efforts. The fate of the caſtle of Carrickfergus, was, however, ſuſpended, for ſome time longer, by a truce with the garriſon, to which Bruce found it neceſſary to conſent. No relief arrived to them, within the ſtipulated period; and at the end of it, they were, therefore, in compliance with the conditions of the truce, to ſurrender the caſtle to the Scots. Bruce ſent thirty men to receive their ſubmiſſion, and to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle, in his name. But, when the Engliſh ſaw, that this ſlender party had entered the caſtle, and were now within their power; they, without reſpecting their

engagements,

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engagements, threw these thirty Scots into confinement, and again bade defiance to Bruce and his host, from the castle-walls. He possessed no means by which he could chastise their perfidy, except that of continuing to blockade the castle, till they should be reduced by famine, to surrender. Hopeless, now of mercy from the besiegers, if they should fall into *their* hands; and still obstinately cherishing an anxious, torturing expectation of relief; the garrison continued to hold out, with a savage firmness of spirit, which, by its expedients, commands, at once, our admiration, and our horrour. Their provisions were, at length, wholly consumed; although they had for some time, confined themselves to a few morsels, each, in the day. Relief, however, appeared not; yet, might soon arrive. The hides of the cattle they had slain, remained to them: and with these, they sustained life, till these were also entirely devoured. In the wild fury of hunger, obstinacy, and revenge, they, at last, laid hands upon their Scottish prisoners; and for some short space, protracted their own fate, by slaying these victims, and making a few horrid repasts upon human flesh. After all, Edward Bruce, either ignorant, that they were reduced to such extremities; or aware, that an English army was now at hand, to relieve them; admitted

admitted them to terms of capitulation; and thus gained poſſeſſion of the caſtle*. Sect. I. Ch. VII.

His brother, the King of the Scots, in the mean time, arrived in Ireland, with thoſe new ſuccours, which Randolph had, ſome time before, gone to demand. He landed at Carrickfergus, when the garriſon in its caſtle, were about to capitulate. A detachment of the Scottiſh force, ſoon after, ſuffered a diſcomfiture from a body of troops with which John Logan, and Hugh Biſſet, were advancing, when it was now too late, to raiſe the ſiege of Carrickfergus. But, the action produced no conſequences, decidedly uſeful to the Engliſh, or adverſe to the deſigns of the Scots. The army of the united Scots and Iriſh; led by the two Kings; for Edward Bruce had been lately crowned King of Ireland, at Dundalk; proceeded on a ſecond expedition ſouthwards, with as much favour of the Iriſh, and as great terrour on the part of the Engliſh; as if no ſuch partial diſaſter had yet befallen them. Their march was through Louth, to Slane. Another army of great force, was muſtered by the Engliſh Lords, to oppoſe them. The Engliſh had ſtationed themſelves within a wood, to await the approach of the Scots and their Allies. But, the Scots, unwilling there to give battle A. D. 1316.

The Scots march into the ſouth of Ireland.

* Barbour, B. XV:—Annal. Hibern. ut ſupra.

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tle to their foes, ſkilfully contrived to paſs, at ſuch a diſtance from the main army of the Engliſh; that, the latter could neither bring the former to a general engagement; nor yet haraſs them, by hanging on their flank or rear, ſo as to turn their invading march into retreat or flight. However, ſome ſcouting parties from the van of the Engliſh, came up with the loiterers in the Scottiſh rear; but, were quickly repulſed; and might have been purſued back to their main army; had not Robert Bruce; cautious to avoid coming unſeaſonably to a general engagement; reſtrained, although with great difficulty, the ardour of his troops. His brother Edward had hurried ſo impatiently forward, with the van diviſion of their army; that the rear under Robert's command, might have been routed and diſperſed by an hoſtile force, before the van could have returned to their aſſiſtance. The Scots advanced, unchecked in their career, to the neighbourhood of Dublin*.

Dublin was the principal ſeat of the Engliſh government in Ireland. Hither had the Earl of Ulſter retired, in ſhame and vexation, when he found himſelf unable to reſiſt the career of the Scots. It was a city defended by walls, and occupied by a conſiderable number of citizens, bearing

* Annal. Hibern:—Barbour, B. XVI.

ing arms, and exerciſed in war. The Earl of Ulſter, being brother to the wife of Robert Bruce; and having, for ſome time, ceaſed from his firſt vigorous oppoſition to the invaders; incurred the ſuſpicion of holding a traitorous correſpondence with his brother-in-law, or at leaſt, of favouring the invaſion. The citizens of Dublin, in a ſudden fury, caſt him into confinement. A. D. 1317. With one accord, they then burnt down the ſuburbs, ſituate without the walls of their city; demoliſhed a church which ſtood contiguous; repaired their walls with the materials of theſe ruins; and reſolutely determined to preſerve Dublin from falling into the hands of their enemies, or to periſh, all, in its defence. Deterred by the aſpect of theſe preparations, the Scots would not attempt the ſiege of Dublin. They, however, made themſelves maſters of Caſtle-Knock in its vicinity; encamped for ſome days, at Leixſlip; then continued their march, by Naas, to Callen in the county of Kilkenny; and being aided by the Lacys, Nobles of Engliſh origin, and by the Iriſh Chieftains of Munſter and Connaught; advanced, without meeting oppoſition, as far as Limerick. The objects of the Scots, in this incurſion, were, to obtain ſupplies of proviſions, of which there was now an extreme ſcarcity in the northern provinces; to afford to ſuch of the Iriſh and Engliſh, as were diſpoſed to revolt from the Engliſh government,

Succeſſes of the Scots in the ſouth.

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ment, a due opportunity of eſpouſing the cauſe of Edward Bruce; and to ſtrike, at once, at the root of the Engliſh dominion In Ireland, by attacking thoſe who maintained and adminiſtered it, in the principal ſeats of their authority and power. Wherever the Scots came, they depopulated and laid waſte the open country, with the uſual havock and devaſtation of war. The flocks and herds of thoſe who joined them, might indeed be ſpared; but, the poſſeſſions of their enemies, were, for this, the more rapaciouſly plundered. Although they had left behind them, various ſtrong places ſtill ſecure in the hands of the Engliſh; yet, their ſucceſſes, and the general impreſſion which they made, were aſtoniſhingly great. It ſeemed probable, that Edward Bruce might, within no long ſpace of time, become entirely maſter of this kingdom, the Crown of which he had aſſumed*.

Yet, the Scots had acted with inconſiderate raſhneſs, in advancing ſo far ſouthward. They had no ſea-port-town, in their poſſeſſion, but Carrickfergus; and their enemies being now left behind them, might cut them off from all poſſibility of retreating thither, in order to eſcape into their own country, if any fatal diſaſters ſhould befall them.

* Annal. Hibern:—Barbour XVI.

them. A numerous, but discordant and tumultuary army, was mustered against them, by the English Lords, in Kilkenny. But, fear, and dissension confounded the counsels of the English, and palsied their valour. They could not agree among themselves, either to attack the Scots, in one decisive action; or only, to hover about them, till they should retreat; and then to hang upon their rear, and haras their march with incessant skirmishes, till they might be thrown into confusion, and scattered in flight. In the mean time, Roger Lord Mortimer; newly appointed by the English King, to the Lieutenancy of Ireland; arrived in the island; and sent his orders to the commanders of the English troops in Kilkenny, to attempt nothing farther against the Scots, until he himself should join them. The Scots wisely taking advantage of the inaction of their enemies, began their retreat, and quickly made their way back, unmolested, into the province of Kildare. On their march, they were reduced by famine, to extreme distress. They killed their horses, and devoured the carcases; and notwithstanding this miserable resource, many died for want of food. But, Mortimer; having dissolved, and dismissed the tumultuary army of the English, which he found vainly assembled in Kilkenny; could not muster a sufficient body of more regular troops, with such expedition, as to follow and overtake the Scots, in

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The return of the Scots into Ulster; and departure of Robert Bruce for Scotland.

their diſtreſs. They halted, for ſome days, near Trim; and then renewing their progreſs, arrived, once more, in Ulſter. If there might be in the incurſion, too much of the ardent and headlong temerity of Edward Bruce; the ſkill and ſucceſs of the retreat, were, however, worthy of the wiſdom and high military talents of his brother, Robert. Only famine, and their fortifications, had ſaved the Engliſh from being, at once, conquered, and expelled out of Ireland, by the Scots. The affairs of his own kingdom, and the neceſſity there was, for providing new ſupplies to recruit the army in Ulſter; now obliged Robert Bruce to return to Scotland. Randolph accompanied him. They ſailed from Carrickfergus, and ſoon landed ſafe in Galloway*.

But, Robert Bruce found the Engliſh too buſy and powerful on the ſouthern frontier of his kingdom, to allow him to diſpatch new ſuccours to his brother in Ireland. Mortimer chaſtiſed the rebellious chiefs of thoſe diſtricts which the Scots had lately over-run; and made conſiderable progreſs in reſtoring the authority of the Engliſh government among the native Iriſh of the ſouthern and eaſtern counties. But, Edward Bruce, receiving no ſupplies from Scotland; having ſeen his firſt tide

* Annal. Hibern:—Barbour XVI.

tide of ſucceſs, to ſtagnate and become refluent; and beholding the flower and ſtrength equally of his Scottiſh followers, and of his Iriſh ſubjects, to be conſumed before him, by famine, the horrours and miſeries of which, were every day augmented; could make no mighty effort; to counteract the new exertions of the Engliſh, or to maintain the glory of his arms, and the terrour of his name. By the interference of the Pope, in behalf of the Engliſh King, Bruce was deprived, in a great meaſure, of that powerful aid which he had found in the activity and zeal with which the Iriſh Clergy had exerciſed in his favour, all the influence of ſuperſtition upon the minds of a rude and ignorant people. Both Edward Bruce, and Robert Bruce, were ſolemnly excommunicated; and in this age, papal excommunication was terrible, as the ſevereſt of thoſe ſcourges with which the God of mercy, at times afflicts mankind. After Mortimer's return to England, Sir John Bermingham ſucceeded to the command of the Engliſh armies in Ireland. While the Scots were in want of every neceſſary, the Engliſh were abundantly ſupplied with proviſions, arms, and military ſtores; which were now diligently ſent to them by ſea. The old Earl of Ulſter, had been, ſome time ſince, releaſed out of priſon, with the reſtored confidence of his fellow-countrymen; and he now cordially co-operated with them againſt the Scots. The Engliſh

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Engliſh no longer contented themſelves with operations merely defenſive; but were led by Bermingham, to attack the Scots in Ulſter, the only province which remained in allegiance to Edward Bruce. By the neceſſity of his circumſtances; and the impetuous ardour of his ſpirit, Bruce was impelled to riſk all his poſſeſſions and hopes in Ireland, upon the event of one great and deſperate battle. At Fagher, near Dundalk, the two armies encountered each other. The battle was long, obſtinate, and bloody. On both ſides, the numbers and valour were nearly equal. But, the Engliſh were more completely equipped and better armed than the Scots; and not, like them, enfeebled by long want and hunger. The Archbiſhop of Armagh exhorted the Engliſh ſoldiers to *quit themſelves like men;* and Bermingham, their commander, led them bravely on. Lord Soulis, Sir John Stewart, Philip Mowbray, Gilbert Harper, and almoſt the whole ſtrength of the Scots, nobly fell, in cloſe combat with their enemies. The body of Edward Bruce himſelf, was found lifeleſs on the field, after the battle: It lay ſtretched under the corpſe of John Maupas; by whoſe hand Edward had fallen; and who had been, at the ſame time, mortally wounded by the royal Scot. By the event of this battle, the Scottiſh invaſion of Ireland was entirely defeated; and all their ſplendid hopes of conqueſt, and of the foundation

Edward Bruce defeated and ſlain.

A. D. 1318.

dation of a new monarchy in this isle, were, for ever, frustrated. A soldier, named John Thomson, collected the few survivors of those thousands of Scots, who, in the first expedition, and in subsequent re-inforcements, had sailed into Ireland, to conquer a kingdom for Edward Bruce; conducted them, through many difficulties, to Carrickfergus; and embarking, with these, his brothers in arms and misfortune, on board some boats in that harbour; at last landed, with them, in safety on the coast of Galloway. Those Irish chieftains and their tribes, who, in rebellion against the English government, had invited the Scots into Ireland, and had accepted Edward Bruce, for their Sovereign; were, of necessity, abandoned to the rage of the victors. The lifeless body of Edward Bruce was, with the inhumanity of triumphant cowardice, quartered by the English, and distributed, in pieces over the country. His too ardent valour, and occasionally melting generosity of heart, deserved a better fate*.

Reflections on the policy of the Scottish expedition into Ireland.

This disasterous expedition of the Scots into Ireland, was one of those adventures into which the restless, and martial spirit of the Age, continually impelled the inhabitants of Europe. It was, in some measure, the necessary effect of famine,

* Annal. Hibern:—Barbour, B. XVIII.

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mine, occaſioned by long-continued warfare; and of thoſe military habits, which rendered the Scottiſh warriours unfit to make proviſion for their wants, otherwiſe than with their ſwords. Although wiſe and pacific policy would not have planned ſuch an enterprize; yet, it was leſs hurtful to Scotland; than if the ſame military operations had been carried on, within Britain, and either on the Engliſh border, or in the interior diſtricts of the Scotliſh kingdom. Scotland, though not yet abſolutely at peace with the Engliſh; enjoyed, however, while Ireland was the principal ſeat of the war; a degree of comparative reſt and tranquillity, which was needful, to allow the waſte of population to be reproduced; the flocks and herds to be replaced and multiplied; that little cultivation of the ground which the people knew to practiſe,—to be once more renewed. Had it not been for the breathing-time thus afforded; Scotland might ſoon have become an uninhabitable deſart. It is likewiſe true, that if the Scots had attempted an invaſion of England, *for conqueſt and ſettlement*, at the time when they made their expedition into Ireland; the whole Engliſh nation would have unanimouſly combined, under their king, to oppoſe and repulſe the invaders; but that, Edward's Engliſh Barons were too highly diſcontented with his government, to ſerve him with equal readineſs in defence of his foreign poſſeſſions;

and

and that, the native Iriſh were to be expected to join the Scots, with one voice, as their deliverers. The Scottiſh expedition into Ireland terminated in misfortune; but, when the ſpirit and the ignorance of the age are duly conſidered; it cannot appear to have been very unwiſely concerted.

Chapter VIII.

Continuation, and end of Robert Bruce's reign.

The hiſtory of Scotland reſumed.

At the time when Edward Bruce went, to find death or a crown in Ireland; Scotland was left at peace on its ſouthern frontier; becauſe the Engliſh were, for the preſent unable to renew the invaſion; and becauſe the Scots choſe to transfer the farther proſecution of the war, to a foreign country.

Robert Bruce's expedition to the Hebudæ.

Robert Bruce ſeized this interval, to make an expedition to the Hebudian iſles. Theſe iſles had been but lately ceded by the Norwegians to the Scottiſh Crown. They were thinly inhabited by a ſavage race of people, partly of Norwegian, and in part of Scottiſh or Iriſh deſcent. Removed by their local circumſtances, from the ready reſtraint

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A. D. 1313.

ſtraint of that government to which they had become nominally ſubject; and in the rudeneſs of their knowledge and manners, ſtrangers to the benefits of ſocial order; the Hebudians ſtill lived in a ſtate of lawleſs independence; obedient to no authority, except for the moment at which it was irreſiſtibly enforced by arms; in continual hoſtility with one another, and with all their neighbours around. From the death of Alexander the Third, to the battle of Bannockburn, the uncertain ſtate of the ſovereignty of Scotland, had left no leiſure to its rulers, during which, they might have reduced the Hebudians to due ſubordination. Robert Bruce had found a temporary refuge among them; and had obtained, out of the iſles, ſome occaſional ſupplies of forces, to recruit his armies, againſt the Engliſh. But, his enemies from the northern and weſtern Highlands, had ſince retired to the Hebudæ; where they inſtigated the iſlanders to take up arms againſt him; and ſcorned or eluded the ſovereign authority, to which he had now attained. To quell the rebellion thus excited; and to ſtrike a terrour into the minds of the Hebudians, which might retain them henceforth, in due ſubjection to his government; were the objects of the expedition now undertaken by Bruce, againſt theſe iſles. Having ſailed, probably out of the frith of Clyde, to the coaſt of the promontory of Cantyre; he wiſely avoided the terribly

ribly dangerous navigation round the *Mull* or extremity of that promontory; and ordered the ſmall veſſels of his little fleet, to be dragged, with whatever difficulty, acroſs the narrow iſthmus of Tarbat; which forms the point of junction between Cantyre and Knapdale. One great difficulty being thus ſurmounted; Bruce ſailed into Ilay, Mull, Sky, and the contiguous iſles; was, every where, either received by the iſlanders, with unreſiſting ſubmiſſion,—or was at leſt, eaſily victorious over any reſiſtance attempted by them; and ſoon made priſoner, John Stewart of Lorn, the chief author of the rebellion. Stewart was ſent to confinement in the caſtle of Dunbarton; from which he was, after ſome time, transferred to the caſtle of Lochleven; where he remained, in captivity, till his death. The King, after ſubduing the iſlanders, ſpent ſome time among them, and in the contiguous ſhires of Inverneſs, Argyle, and Dunbarton; diſtributing juſtice; re-eſtabliſhing order; and gratifying himſelf and his attendants, by the frequent chaſe of the deer, roes, and other wild animals with which theſe places abounded. About the time of his return from this ſucceſsful Hebudian expedition; died his daughter Marjory, the wife of Walter Stewart; probably in child-bed; and after having born a ſon, who was named from his grandfather, Robert*.

* Barbour, Book XV.

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While Robert Bruce went, in the following year, to aid his brother in the Iriſh wars; as has been related; the Engliſh began to attempt ſome new enterprizes againſt Scotland. Berwick, if not alſo Dunbar, was ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; as well as ſome other fortified places; within their own territories, indeed; yet cloſe upon the confines between the two kingdoms. From theſe, they now made occaſional inroads into the adjacent poſſeſſions of the Scots. But, James Douglas had been left, to protect the Scottiſh border; and none could be more ardent or watchful than he, to anticipate or repulſe invaſion. The Earl of Arundel, having made a plundering incurſion, with a conſiderable force, from Berwick into the foreſt of Jedburgh, was ſuddenly encountered, and defeated by Douglas; with the loſs of Thomas de Richmond, one of his principal officers; who is ſaid to have been ſlain by Douglas's own hand. Another inroad, made into Teviotdale, by a body of Engliſh troops, under the command of Edmond de Cailaud, a Gaſcon Knight; had almoſt been more ſucceſsful: The Engliſh were already returning homewards with a large booty of cattle and other goods; when they were purſued by Douglas and Adam Gordon, with a number of the neighbouring peaſantry, haſtily aſſembled, and imperfectly armed: Douglas and Gordon coming within ſight of the enemy, perceiv-

Tranſactions on the Engliſh frontier.

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ed De Cailaud's troops to be, in all reſpects, ſo much ſuperior to their own, that nothing but the impoſſibility of now retreating with ſafety, could juſtify them in hazarding an engagement: Douglas was himſelf, an hoſt; and his preſence encouraged his followers to fight with an intrepidity, of which they might, otherwiſe, have been incapable: De Cailaud and many of his ſoldiers were ſlain: The booty was entirely recovered: Few of the Engliſh eſcaped, alive, to tell the news of their diſcomfiture, at Berwick. The brave Douglas, not content to repulſe the Engliſh incurſions into the Scottiſh territory; advanced to the neighbourhood of Berwick; and, in the face of an Engliſh army commanded by Robert Neville; made an hoſtile inroad into the Engliſh domains: Neville, finding himſelf at the head of a force ſuperior in numbers, to that of Douglas; and being impatient to extinguiſh the diſgrace which the Engliſh arms had ſuffered in the late engagements with the Scots; eagerly drew out his troops, and came to give battle to the enemy: The genius of Douglas, the fortune of the Scots, once more prevailed; After an obſtinate and bloody conteſt, Neville was ſlain, and his troops were routed: In the purſuit, ſeveral of the moſt eminent of the ſurviving Engliſh officers were made priſoners: The Scots then ſpoiled the country,

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country, and returned home, rich with the plunder*.

A. D. 1317.

These ſkirmiſhes, inroads, and rencounters, indicate the prevalence of an inveterate, inextinguiſhable hoſtility of ſpirit, between the Scots and the Engliſh; even when their ſtrength was, on both ſides, ſo much exhauſted; that they could no longer make any powerful efforts againſt each other. Unable to penetrate by land, into the Scottiſh territories; the Engliſh ſent a fleet into the frith of Forth; to ravage and alarm the coaſts; and, if poſſible, to ſeize ſome ſtrong place, and ſecure ſome permanent conqueſts for their King. This fleet, ſailed up the frith, as far as to the fine, natural baſon under Inverkeithing; there reſted their veſſels at anchor; and iſſued out into the country of Fife. At ſight of the Engliſh fleet in the frith, the inhabitants of Fife, gathered together, to the number of five hundred men, under their Earl and Sheriff, to oppoſe the landing of the invaders. But, diſmayed, at finding, that the Engliſh had already left their ſhips, and were poſted, in great force, to receive them, as they approached the ſhore; theſe troops, with their leaders, baſely betook themſelves to flight, without meeting the firſt onſet of the enemy. On their flight,

Biſhop Sinclair defeats the Engliſh at Inverkeithing.

* Barbour, Book XV.

flight, they were met by William Sinclair, Biſhop of Dunkeld; who then reſiding on an eſtate which he poſſeſſed in Fife, had haſtened, with ſixty followers, to the defence of the coaſt, upon the firſt news of the invaſion. Sinclair exclaimed, in rage, to the fugitive Chiefs; "Whither flee ye? Why "do I not hack the gilded ſpurs," (enſigns of knighthood) "from your heels? Whoſo loves "Scotland: Let him follow me!" So ſaying, the Biſhop threw aſide his ſacerdotal veſtment; rallied the fleeing Scots; put himſelf, with his company, at their head; impetuouſly attacked the Engliſh, while they were in ſome degree of confuſion, on account of the ſudden return of thoſe who had juſt fled before them; drove them back, with great ſlaughter; and purſued them to their ſhips. The King heard, with great ſatisfaction, the news,—equally of the ſevere reproof with which Sinclair had chidden the fleeing Earl and Sheriff of Fife,—and of the un-biſhop-like valour, with which he had, himſelf, repulſed the invaders. They retired, without committing any other depredations on the coaſt*.

Mediation of the Pope between the Scots and Engliſh.

In the mean time, while, in Britain and in Ireland, the Scots and the Engliſh continued to harraſs each other, with unremitting hoſtility, and with

* Barbour, Book XVI:—Fordun. XII. 25.

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with their utmoſt might; the Pope, the common Father of Chriſtendom, was induced to interpoſe his exhortations and good offices, in order to conciliate a peace between theſe two nations. Edward of England had bound himſelf by a vow, to viſit the Holy Land; and the Pope, about this time, projected a new cruſade. The views of the papal policy, would, therefore, have been promoted by that relief from the hoſtilities of the Scots, which the Engliſh anxiouſly deſired. Edward's firſt favourites, the cauſes of the firſt diſſenſions between him and his Nobles, had, indeed, been torn from the fond protection of their King; and indignantly put to death. But, the weakneſs, if not the wickedneſs of this monarch, had again provoked the diſcontents and rebellion of a faction of his moſt potent ſubjects. Perplexed amidſt foreign wars, and internal rebellion; Edward was ſo far from having leiſure to fulfil his vow of viſiting the Holy Land; that, he found himſelf unable, even to ſupport his government, and defend his dominions; and began to tremble for the ſecurity of his life and throne. His foreign wars gave encouragement to inteſtine rebellion; his domeſtic troubles afforded advantages to his foreign enemies: And he had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect a ſecret correſpondence between the Scots and his factious Nobles; which enabled them to act with a harmony of counſels and of efforts; although they

they were not openly in union. In these circumstances, Edward was more eager to embrace the mediation of the Pope, than either the Scots, or even his own subjects. Without consulting either of the contending nations, the Holy Father, by his own supreme ecclesiastical authority, appointed a truce between them, to endure for two years; and threatened excommunication against that one of the two nations which should first violate this truce; or against them both, if they should refuse obedience to the *bull* by which it was enjoined. Two Cardinals came into Britain, as the ambassadors of this pacification. A. D. 1317. Nor was their mission confined in its views, to obtain only the ratification and observance of the truce. They were to mediate, if possible, a lasting peace, between the Scots and the English. From England, they sent messengers to Robert Bruce, with letters from the Pope, and from themselves. But, the *title* of *King of Scotland*, was, in these letters withheld from Bruce. He refused, therefore, to receive them; to agree to the truce; or to listen to any mediation for a more permanent peace; till this preliminary article should have been first adjusted to his satisfaction. In spite, however, of Bruce and his Counsellors, the Legates from the Pontiff, determined, that, the truce should be proclaimed in Scotland. On this business, they sent Adam Newton, a Minorite Friar, of Berwick. He found Bruce,

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at the diſtance of not many miles from that city, to which he was advancing, with an army, to beſiege it. The Friar proclaimed the truce in the hearing of the Scottiſh forces; but could not obtain admiſſion into the preſence of their King; or permiſſion to paſs farther into Scotland, for the purpoſe of communicating the *bull* for the truce, and the denunciations by which it was enforced, to the Scottiſh Clergy. He was diſmiſſed with the aſſurance, that Bruce would liſten to no terms of truce or accommodation with the Engliſh; unleſs he ſhould be formally addreſſed by the title of *King of Scotland;* and, even in this caſe, not until he ſhould have firſt made himſelf maſter of Berwick. On his return, the Monk was way-laid, ſtripped, and robbed of all his papers. Bruce, and all who adhered to him, were, on account of theſe tranſactions, ſhortly after, excommunicated*.

A. D. 1318.

Whether deterred by the authority of the Pope, or called elſewhere by ſome ſudden neceſſity of his affairs; the Scottiſh King did not immediately lay ſiege to Berwick. But, an unlooked-for incident put this town into his hands, ſooner than he could have won it by the direct uſe of force alone. A perſon of the name of Spalding, one of the citizens, having been injured, or at leſt offend-

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* Fœdera III. 594. 614. 657. 661. 663. 683, &c.

ed by the governor; and being allied by marriage, to ſome Scottiſh families; reſolved to betray the town to the Scots. He made known his purpoſe to one of the Scottiſh nobles; by whom it was, without delay, communicated to the King himſelf. The King inſtantly ordered him, whoever he was, that brought theſe glad tidings, to take a body of troops, and attend Spalding's directions, before the walls of Berwick. He gave orders, at the ſame time, to Douglas and Randolph, ſeparately, to conduct, each a band of his followers, to a place where the King knew, that they would unavoidably meet with one another, and with the firſt company. The three bands, accordingly, met together, at ſome ſmall diſtance from the town, and in the evening. With one accord, they advanced, cautiouſly, and in ſilence, under the darkneſs of night, to where Spalding awaited their approach, and was ready to give them, a ſignal, from the height of the wall. None elſe of the townſmen, were upon the watch, in that quarter. Inſtantly fixing their ſcaling-ladders, as Spalding directed, the Scottiſh leaders, with all their followers, aſcended the walls, and poured into the town. Although thus betrayed and ſurprized, the townſmen quickly roſe in arms, and made a ſtout, but unavailing defence. The Scots, prevailing, humanely ſpared all that begged their mercy. Many betook themſelves for ſafety, to the caſtle; which, being ſtrong,

Berwick taken by the Scots.

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and ſufficiently garriſoned, did not depend upon the fate of the town. Within a very ſhort ſpace of time; while the Scots were buſily employed in ſecuring their priſoners, and in ſeizing and dividing the ſpoil; the garriſon made a ſudden and vigorous ſally from the caſtle, with ſuch deſperate reſolution, that they had almoſt overpowered the victors, and changed the fortune of the conteſt. Happily, William Keith of Gallſton; exerting an extraordinary valour which his fellow-ſoldiers beheld with admiration, while it confounded the enemy with aſtoniſhment and terrour; checked the progreſs of the ſally; and being readily ſeconded by the reſt of the Scots, drove the aſſailants back into the caſtle. The caſtle ſuſtained yet a ſiege for ſome weeks; till the King himſelf, muſtering a conſiderable army, came to join the beſiegers; after which, the garriſon, notwithſtanding all their gallantry and fortitude, were quickly reduced to ſurrender it, by a capitulation. Sparing this caſtle from that diſmantlement or demolition, which had been exerciſed upon the other caſtles, retaken out of the hands of the Engliſh; Bruce committed it; as the maſter-key of the ſouth-eaſt frontier of his dominions; to the keeping of his ſon-in-law, Walter Stewart; and Stewart diligently ſtrengthened himſelf in it, with ſtores and a numerous garriſon; that he might be prepared to defend it againſt every future attempt of its late maſters.

masters. John Crab, a Flemish engineer, entered with the new garrison, to direct the reparation of the works of the castle, and to assist in providing all the artillery requisite for its future defence. Cattle and grain were brought from the English territories, to replenish the granaries and larder; and the river afforded abundance of salmons and other fishes useful for food. As the border of England was now defenceless, in consequence of the reduction of Berwick; Robert Bruce would not dismiss his army till he should have first gratified them with the easily won spoils of their enemies. From Berwick, he led his forces into Northumberland; where they quickly took the castles of Werk, Harbottle, and Mitford. After some short delay, they advanced farther, through Yorkshire; spoiled almost the whole of that territory; burnt its hamlets and villages; and exacted large contributions from the inhabitants of those places which they spared. They returned home, with much spoil, and many prisoners. The English King, in vain, invoked anew, the interference of the Pope; and endeavoured to muster an army with which he might march into Scotland. But, the joy of Bruce's successes, was changed for sorrow, soon after his return home, by the news of his brother's death, and of the final failure of the Scottish expedition into Ulster*.

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Inroad into Yorkshire.

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* Barbour, B. XVII.

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The unhappy contentions in which the Scottiſh nation had now been, for more than twenty years, engaged; had taught them to regard the indiſputable ſettlement of the order of the ſucceſſion to their throne, as the moſt important of all their common, national concerns. By the death of Edward Bruce, without male offspring; and of Marjory, the daughter of Robert Bruce, after having born a ſon; that order of regal ſucceſſion which the eſtates of the kingdom, in Parliament, had formerly deſtined, was neceſſarily ſomewhat deranged. To provide for this, and other matters of import to the general welfare of the ſtate, a Parliament of the Scottiſh nation, was again aſſembled at Scone, in the month of December, in the year one thouſand three hundred and eighteen. In defiance of the authority of the Pope, under whoſe excommunication the Scots and their King at this time lay, on account of their hoſtility to England; the members of this Parliament ſolemnly renewed their vows of allegiance to Robert Bruce; and unanimouſly ſwore to defend their national liberties and honours, under his authority, againſt every human foe, however venerable, or however mighty. Robert, the ſon of Marjory Bruce, by Walter Stewart, was declared by them, to be the next heir to the royal power and honours of their preſent King. Thomas Randolph, or upon the event of his death, James Douglas, was appointed

Parliament at Scone.

A. D. 1318.

pointed to become Tutor to the young King, and Governor of the kingdom, until the æra of his majority; if Robert Bruce ſhould happen to die, while his ſucceſſor were yet a minor. It was farther ſettled, to prevent future diſputes concerning the royal ſucceſſion; that, henceforth, the next male in the direct line, ſhould ever ſucceed to the throne, upon the death of a king of Scotland; but that failing heirs male in the direct line, the next female heir of this line, ſhould then inherit the Crown; and that, if there remained neither male nor female in the direct line, the regal inheritance ſhould then devolve to the male, the neareſt related to the deceaſed king, in collateral conſanguinity. The Clergy in general, had been more uniformly zealous and active than the laity, in defending the liberties of the kingdom, againſt the Engliſh, through all the varying fortunes of the paſt part of the preſent conteſt; and one of the firſt cares of this Parliament, was, therefore, gratefully to provide for the preſervation of the liberties, the privileges, and the property of the Church. A variety of other acts were, at the ſame time, ordained, for the regulation of the military ſervice, for the protection of private property, for the maintenance of order, and for the diſtribution of juſtice*.

But,

* Forduni Scotichron. L. XIII. C. 13:—Appendix 25th to Anderſon on the Independency of Scotland:—Statuta Roberti Primi.

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The English prepare again to invade Scotland.

But, the King of England, could not yet reſolve to forego all hopes of recovering Scotland, and to ſit down, at home, in tranquillity and diſgrace. New conceſſions wreſted from his weakneſs, had again for a time, reconciled his turbulent Barons to their feudal duty. The termination of the Iriſh war, had ſhewn that the Scots were not yet, at all times, and in all places, invincible. Edward took courage, and ſtrove to move heaven and earth againſt thoſe mortal and abhorred foes, who had eluded, or triumphed over, him, ſince the very commencement of his reign. The Earl of Flanders, indeed; whoſe ſubjects, carrying on a gainful commerce with the Scots, ſupplied them with many of the neceſſaries for war; refuſed to prohibit this intercourſe of traffic, at Edward's requeſt; leaſt the prohibition might prove ruinous to the wealth and induſtry of his own people. But, the Pope had readily met all Edward's wiſhes; and the Scots lay, even now, under all the odium, and the horrours of a Papal excommunication. Some Scottiſh nobles who had preferred the dominion of England to the independence of their country, were now, exiles, in Edward's Court; and, either the ties of friendſhip with theſe exiles, the terrour of the Papal curſes, or ſuch diſcontents with their own King, as might be eaſily excited in their fierce and fickle minds; drew ſeveral others who were in Bruce's ſervice, into a traitorous correſpondence with

with England. When no longer at variance with their own King; the Engliſh again viewed the Scots, with all the exaſperated rage of rivalſhip, and of hoſtile neighbourhood; and with ſufficient eagerneſs, obeyed Edward's call to another invaſion of Scotland*.

Assembling, therefore, a numerous army; and having obtained from his Clergy and other ſubjects, a large contribution in money, for the expences of the expedition; Edward came northwards, in the ſpring of the year one thouſand three hundred and nineteen. His forces were ſummoned to rendezvous at Newcaſtle, on the tenth day of the month of June. From Newcaſtle, he advanced, at the head of a mighty hoſt, to the gates of Berwick. While his fleet from the *Cinque* Ports, entered the harbour, and blocked up this town, by ſea; his land-forces drew around it lines of circumvallation, and completely inveſted it, by land. On all ſides, the beſiegers exerted themſelves, with every variety of ſtratagem, and with inceſſant efforts of daring valour, to ſurprize the vigilance, to maſter the force, or to break through the defenſive barriers, of the beſieged. But, Walter Stewart and the garriſon under his command, were not unprepared for a ſiege; nor were they unmindful, that

June 10. A. D. 1319.

Berwick beſieged by the Engliſh.

* Fœdera III. 761. 758. 764. 770:—Trivet *Continuat.* 27:—Barbour, Vol. II. Book 17.

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that the glory of the Scottiſh arms, and the cuſtody of the only undiſmantled fortification within the Scottiſh territories, had been, with confidence, intruſted to their well-tried valour. No ſtratagem could deceive their watchfulneſs; at every reiterated aſſault, they diſplayed, in their reſiſtance, new heroiſm of ſpirit, and courage more irreſiſtibly vigorous. The Engliſh, however, ſtill reſolutely continued the ſiege. From one of their veſſels in the river, an attempt was made, to paſs by a ſort of temporary bridge, upon the wall, and into the town. This veſſel could not be brought ſufficiently near, to admit of the fixing of the bridge, to communicate between it and the wall; yet, in the trial, was ſtranded on the ſhore, and ſoon after, burnt by the beſieged. In one general aſſault, made around the whole circumference of the walls, the beſiegers almoſt overpowered the efforts of the townſmen and the garriſon; theſe being worn out by the fatigues of their long defence; and not being ſufficiently numerous, to fill all the poſts of defence, at once. But, happily, in the critical moment when all ſeemed loſt, the ſkill of the Scottiſh engineers, deſtroyed the principal machine with which the Engliſh battered the wall, and protected their attack. At this ſucceſs, the beſieged exultingly renewed their efforts; and the aſſailants were repulſed. With freſh troops they quickly returned, to preſs the aſſault. The alarm was ſuddenly

denly given, that they had gained the drawbridge, at one of the gates; and were about to make their way into the town, by burning down that gate. Stewart, with a ſmall band, withdrawn from the defence of the walls, quickly ruſhed to the threatened gate, and commanded it to be ſet open. Through the flames with which it already blazed, he, with his brave comrades, ſallied deſperately forth upon the enemy. The Engliſh were, with difficulty driven back; and till evening, the combat was obſtinately prolonged. The aſſailants then ceaſed from their unſucceſsful exertions, and retired from the walls, into their camp*.

Valour of Walter Stewart.

Meanwhile, the invaſion, and the events of the ſiege, were made known throughout Scotland. The King muſtered his vaſſals, and haſtened to the defence of his frontier. But, inſtead of riſking the fate of Berwick, and indeed of his whole dominions, upon the iſſue of a ſingle battle; Bruce, with admirable policy, turned the march of his army to the weſtern border; leaving the garriſon to defend themſelves, without any immediate aid. Douglas and Randolph, to whom the conduct of this expedition, was intruſted, advanced, at the head of fifteen thouſand men, through Cumberland

Succeſsful inroad of Douglas and Randolph into England.

* Fordun. XII. 37:—Barbour, Book XVII:—Walſingham III.

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A. D. 1319.

land and Weſtmoreland, into Yorkſhire. Had not their intention been very narrowly prevented, the Queen of England would have been made their prize, at the place of her temporary reſidence, near York. Almoſt all the military men, out of theſe northern counties, being with their King, before Berwick; none but the unarmed peaſantry and eccleſiaſtics remained, to make reſiſtance to the invaders. While they waſted the country with the uſual devaſtation of the Scottiſh inroads; the Archbiſhop of York, with laudable activity and zeal, aſſembled all the force of the neighbourhood; armed them in the beſt manner he could; and led them out to encounter the Scottiſh hoſt. But, theſe troops of the Archbiſhop's, were a motely, undiſciplined crowd of prieſts and peaſants, who were rather frightened into valour, than inſpired with any thing of the ardour of genuine courage. At Mitton, on the Swale, they afforded an eaſy victory to the Scots: Three thouſand of them, were ſlain, and among theſe, three hundred eccleſiaſtics: Of thoſe who fled, many periſhed in the river. Thus victorious over all oppoſition, the Scots under Randolph and Douglas, might have eaſily penetrated much farther into England. But, the primary object of their expedition, was already accompliſhed. No ſooner did the Engliſh army before Berwick, receive the news of the invaſion of Yorkſhire, and of the terrible ravage and ſlaugh-

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ter with which the invaders purſued their courſe; than all the northern Barons became impatient to return home, for the protection of their own eſtates. Edward could by no effort of authority or perſuaſion, detain them. The remainder of his army was inſufficient to urge the ſiege, and to guard, at the ſame time, againſt any ſudden attack, which the Scots, from without, might make upon his camp. He relinquiſhed the ſiege of Berwick; and marched to intercept the return of Douglas and Randolph, with their triumphant army. They eluded his vigilance, and arrived ſafe at home; where they were received with the fondeſt congratulations of their King and their fellow-countrymen*.

The ſiege of Berwick raiſed.

Thus defeated in every enterprize; and humbled continually more and more, even in his own eyes, and in the eyes of both his friends and his enemies; Edward was, at length, reluctantly compelled to forego his hopes of reconquering Scotland. A negotiation for peace, was opened between the Scots and the Engliſh. The Scots, after all their ſucceſſes, deſired from their enemies, nothing but peace, and the formal acknowledgement of the independency of their kingdom, and of the ſovereign

A truce concluded, Dec. 21. 1319.

* Barbour, Book XVII:—Leland I. 462:—Walſing. 111, 112.

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reign dignity of the monarch of their choice. Commiſſioners mutually appointed for the purpoſe of a final pacification, concluded a treaty of truce only; and this to ſubſiſt but for the ſhort period of two years; on the twenty-firſt day of December, in the year one thouſand three hundred and nineteen*.

The Papal Legates enter Scotland; and publiſh two ſentences of excommunication.

Upon this happy event, the Papal Legates obtained that admiſſion into the Scottiſh territories, which had been, for ſome time, indignantly refuſed to them and their meſſengers, on account of their ungenerous partiality in favour of the Engliſh King. Their firſt official act was, to publiſh thoſe ſentences of excommunication which had been pronounced from Rome, *firſt* againſt the murderers of Comyn, and *afterwards*, againſt Bruce and the Scots in general, when they refuſed to acquieſce in that truce which the Pope had, in vain enjoined between them and the Engliſh. By the expedient of prohibiting the Papal Legates from entering the kingdom, the Scots had hitherto avoided the effects of the Pontiff's curſes. But, it was now neceſſary for them, to ſubmit to the authority of the Holy Father, that they might be again received into the boſom of the Catholic Church. It was more in conſequence of miſrepreſentations

* Fœdera, Tom. III. 816:—Barbour, Book XIX.

preſentations alledged againſt them by the Engliſh, than out of any inclination to treat them with unjuſt rigour, that the Pope had been excited to explode his ſpiritual artillery againſt the Scots. Little elſe was requiſite, therefore, to pacify the irritated Court of Rome, than that the Scots ſhould again ſeek its favour; and ſhould hear its cenſures with filial reverence; while they might, at the ſame time, ſhew themſelves ready to remonſtrate, with ſufficient ſpirit and energy, againſt errour or injuſtice*.

Epiſtle of remonſtrance, from the Scottiſh nation to the Pope.

In this policy, the Scottiſh Barons, with the inferior freeholders, convening at Aberbrothwick, ſoon after the arrival of the Legates, endeavoured to ſoothe and avert the anger of the Pope, by a letter of apology and remonſtrance. This letter has been, fortunately, preſerved; and is one of the moſt honourable monuments of the nation and the Age to which it belongs. The wiſdom and manlineſs of its ſentiments, are worthy of thoſe illuſtrious heroes and patriots by whom it was ſubſcribed. In it, they humbly repreſented to the ſucceſſor of St Peter; That, the glory of the Scots, and the fame of their invincible valour, diſplayed in all their migrations from eaſt to weſt, and in every variety of fortune, were co-eval with the earlieſt

* Fœdera III. 797. 810:—Fordun. LXIII. C. 1.

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earlieſt annals of mankind, and illuſtrious in the records of every age: That, ſince the firſt propagation of Chriſtianity, they had ever been among the moſt diſtinguiſhed children of the Church; having been converted from paganiſm, by no leſs a perſon, than the Apoſtle Andrew, the brother of St Peter; and having been cheriſhed with the peculiar favour of all former Pontiffs: That, the Scottiſh monarchy, above all others, had ever enjoyed facred, unqueſtioned freedom and independence; till the ambitious Edward, wickedly attempted, by fraud and violence, to ſubjugate it; and deſolated their land with ſacrilege and cruelties, of unheard-of and unſpeakable atrocity: That, Robert Bruce, like another Joſhua or Judas Maccabœus, had, under God, delivered them from the uſurped domination of the Engliſh tyrant, by the perſevering exertion of incredible fortitude and valour; and had therefore been eſtabliſhed on the throne, not more by right of inheritance, than by the ardent and unanimous gratitude of his country: That, ſhould even this heroic and beloved Prince propoſe to ſubmit himſelf and his nation to the Engliſh; then would his ſubjects, with one accord, hurl him from the throne: That, while but an hundred Scots ſurvived, they never would become the ſlaves of England; contending as they did, not for glory, wealth, or power, but for liberty; they were reſolved, every one, to purſue the con-

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teſt unto death: That, it became the Pope, the common father of all Chriſtendom, the vicegerent of the Prince of peace, to admoniſh and perſuade the King of England to content him ſelf with his own dominions, and to leave his poor Scottiſh neighbours in peace; ſince *they* were willing to agree to any terms of peace with *him*, which ſhould leave their independence and liberties entire: That, the Scots and their King, if ſecured againſt the hoſtility of the Engliſh, were willing immediately to aſſume the croſs, and to repair, in devout and martial pilgrimage, to the Holy Land, to reſcue Paleſtine from the profane incroachments of the Infidels: But, that, the Engliſh King, however pretendedly impatient to engage in a cruſade, was detained from it, not by the turbulence of his neighbours, but by his own unjuſt and graſping ambition, and by his abſolute indifference to the intereſts of religion: That, upon all theſe conſiderations, if the Holy Father ſhould ſtill continue to favour the cauſe of the Engliſh with unjuſt partiality; and to aid and encourage them in their criminally ambitious attempts againſt the liberties of the Scots; then would the Scots regard the Pontiff himſelf, as guilty in the ſight of God, of all the bloodſhed, the loſs of lives, and the perdition of ſouls, which muſt be occaſioned by the continued proſecution of this war; and they would truſt in God alone, to inſpire them with courage,

to

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to grant ſucceſs to their ſtruggles, and to bring their enemies to nought*.

Such was the bold and manly language in which theſe magnanimous patriots dared to addreſs a throne which was at this time, exalted upon the necks of Kings. They knew to reſiſt as well the domination of prieſtcraft and ſuperſtition, as the ambitious fury of military conqueſt. The ſame ardent energy with which they fought in the field, ſeems to have, at this time, pervaded all their ſentiments and conduct. Injuſtice and oppreſſion had ſo probed their feelings to the quick, that they were awakened to reaſon and decide concerning their rights and duties, with a rectitude of intelligence, greatly above the level of the Age in which they lived. Nor could the moſt profound policy have dictated any thing wiſer, in the circumſtances in which they ſtood. A man guilty of a ſacrilegious murther had been made their King; from Rome, they had been loaded with one cenſure, and with one ſentence of excommunication, after another; both clergy and laity had been, for ſome time, in open rebellion againſt the Holy See. But, they were ſituate on the very verge of the Papal empire, and ſo detached from the

* Fordun. L. XII. C. 2 and 3:—Anderſon's Diplomata, No. 51, 52.—See in the Appendix to this volume, a copy, and a tranſlation of this letter.

the interior parts of Europe, that, the arm of Papal power could not always reach them, with any conſiderable efficacy: it could not be forgotten, that the Scots had long been Chriſtians, before they acknowledged the univerſal authority of the Biſhop of Rome: the Clergy being, in the preſent inſtance, unanimous with the Laity; it became, by conſequence, extremely difficult for the Pope, to enforce the execution of any violent ſentence againſt the Scottiſh nation. The Scottiſh remonſtrance, therefore, failed not of its effect, when received at the Court of Rome. The Pontiff ſuffered his wrath to be gradually appeaſed: and he was even induced to addreſs his admonitions to peace, to the Engliſh King; in language implying his perſuaſion, that the Engliſh were perhaps more guilty, than the Scots, of all the calamities of their long mutual wars. It is indeed, not impoſſible, but the Scots might accompany their epiſtle, with ſome other things, which they knew to be more ſucceſsfully perſuaſive at the Romiſh Court, than right or argument*.

Effect of the epiſtle.

But, who ſhall aſſure us that the hero, or the ſage of this day, will be wiſe or brave, to-morrow? Men, even any two men, are never united with full cordiality of affection, unleſs in ſome paſ-

Imperfection of ſocial virtue.

* Fœdera III. 846.

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fing moments of common and extreme danger, of overflowing joy, or of overwhelming grief. We may combine to oppoſe a common enemy, or to provide againſt a common evil; but no ſooner is the enemy overcome, and the evil diſpelled or evaded, than the principles of ſelfiſhneſs or malignity, which are ever awake in our hearts, divide us againſt one another, rather than ceaſe to rankle in our boſoms. As virtues and vices are ever mingled ſtrangely together in the ſame human character; ſo, in every aſſemblage of men, however ſeemingly ſelect, the coward and the hero, the ſimpleton and the ſage, the patriot and the traitor, are ſtill found to be caſually aſſociated; whenever they are brought, all, into that action which developes the ſprings of character.

A conſpiracy againſt the life of Bruce diſcoverd, and puniſhed.

A. D. 1320.

Hardly had the above national deed been ſolemnly executed and tranſmitted to Rome; when it was diſcovered, that a formidable conſpiracy had been entered into, againſt the life of Bruce; in the guilt of which, not a few of the brave comrades of his wars, were deeply involved. Men whoſe faith had been honourably tried in perils and misfortunes, became traitors, when the common danger and difficulties were almoſt wholly ſurmounted. Even among thoſe illuſtrious patriots, who had ſaved their country from foreign thraldom, there were intermixed ſome perſons, ungenerous,

ungenerous, falſe, and baſe. In the diſtribution of the rewards which he now had to beſtow, Bruce could not gratify one, without diſappointing more; nor was it poſſible that he and his confidential counſellors ſhould always form the ſame eſtimate of every one's merits and ſervices, which the claimant himſelf formed in his own breaſt. In the courſe of the war, many of the Scottiſh warriours had poſſeſſed themſelves of eſtates, by recovering them from the Engliſh: And theſe men ſtill wiſhed to continue in poſſeſſion of what they had thus acquired, in defiance of the claims of the ancient owners. Of the Nobles who had from the beginning of the conteſt, attached themſelves to the Engliſh intereſts, there were ſeveral diſtinguiſhed individuals who had not yet reconciled themſelves to their country: And theſe men, although reſiding in England, in the ſervice of Edward, found means to foment diſſenſions among their ancient friends in Scotland. This conſpiracy, into which ſuch a variety of motives had concurred to impel thoſe who were accomplices in it, began to diſcover itſelf, amidſt the deliberations in the parliament, by the refractory ſpirit with which the Barons oppoſed ſeveral meaſures ſuggeſted by the King, for the ſettlement of order and property. From the loyalty, or the indiſcretion of the Counteſs of Strathern, one of the accomplices, it was ſoon after revealed to the King, that thoſe who

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who had openly murmured againſt his government, were engaged in a ſecret conſpiracy againſt his life. He learned with aſtoniſhment and horrour, that not a few, but many of his moſt illuſtrious Knights, were among the conſpirators; and that ſome even of his deareſt friends, were privy to their guilty purpoſe, although not actually partners in it. William Soulis, the grandſon, as it ſhould ſeem, of one of the competitors who had contended with Balliol and the grandfather of Bruce, for the royal ſucceſſion, was the leader in this conſpiracy: And there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that one of its principal objects, was, to make way for Soulis's acceſſion to the Scottiſh throne, by the murther of Robert Bruce. With Soulis, and the Counteſs of Strathern, Gilbert Malherbe, John de Logie, and Richard Brown, were convicted of this conſpiracy. Soulis, and the Counteſs, notwithſtanding her diſcovery, were condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Malherbe, Logie, and Brown, were executed, as traitors. David de Brechin, nephew to the King, convicted of being privy to the plot, although he had taken no actual part in it, ſuffered the ſame fate. Euſtace de Maxwell, Walter de Barclay, Patrick de Graham, Hammelin de Froup, and Euſtace de Rattray were tried, but acquitted. It is probable, that the guilt of the conſpiracy, might extend much wider, than merely to thoſe who were convicted and puniſhed. Bruce himſelf,

himself, who had exercised and experienced the most illustrious constancy of attachment, in the series of his first wars, must have felt his heart cruelly wounded by the discovery of this treason. He was not of a blood-thirsty, tyrannical nature; and therefore, must have inflicted with painful reluctance, those severities which its suppression demanded. They struck a general terrour into the breasts of those turbulent warriours, by whom he was surrounded; but, they appear to have, at the same time, contributed to abate in some degree, from that fond affection with which he had been hitherto regarded by the greater part of his subjects. Transactions so mournful, and so ungrateful to be remembered, have been recorded imperfectly, and with a seeming unwillingness in the annals of our national history. The events have been mentioned; but almost all that detail of circumstances, which might have rendered them instructive, has been mysteriously withheld*.

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In the mean time, the period of two years, for which the truce with the English had been concluded, was fast elapsing. But, the minds of both nations, were still mutually too much exasperated, to permit the mediation of the Pope, or the King of France, to persuade them to a final peace. Edward

The truce expires; and the war between the Scots and the English, is renewed.

* Barbour, Book XIX:—Fordun. XIII. 1.

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ward flattered himſelf, that the ſtate of his affairs might now at length enable him to renew the war with ſure ſucceſs; and Bruce, well knowing how to fruſtrate an invaſion of his dominions, was little concerned, as to any farther attempts which the Engliſh might make againſt him. With little ſucceſs probably, Edward again endeavoured by the intermediation of ſome Scotchmen in his ſervice, to ſeduce Bruce's ſubjects from their allegiance: But, in the mean time, one of his own moſt powerful vaſſals, the Earl of Lancaſter; who had been hitherto the perpetual enemy of his tranquillity and power; courted the favour of the Scots, entered into a traitorous correſpondence with Bruce, and roſe in rebellion againſt his own King. With this advantage againſt their enemy, the Scots ſcarcely ſuffered the term of the truce to expire, before they again invaded Northumberland and the Biſhoprick of Durham. Douglas had entered England; Randolph, with another force, was upon the frontier, ready to follow the career and ſecond the exertions of Douglas's army. Lancaſter was in arms; and anxiouſly expected the approach of the Scots, to aſſiſt him, againſt his Sovereign. But, while the Scots delayed to join him; and he himſelf, half expecting, half hopeleſs of their aid, wavered in his counſels; he was overtaken, worſted, and made priſoner by Edward's General, Andrew de Harclaw; and Edward had the pleaſure of condemning

condemning that great rebel, who been ſo eminently the author of the troubles of his reign, to expiate his criminal ambition, under the axe of the executioner. The Scots having thus loſt one favourable opportunity of proſecuting the war, with ſingular advantage, returned back for a time, into their own territories. Edward, fluſhed with the ſucceſs by which he had at laſt accompliſhed the fall of Lancaſter, muſtered another army, and again prepared to invade Scotland with all the confidence of anticipated victory. The bold activity of the Scots, yet again prevented his movements. They poured ſuddenly into the weſtern counties of England; and penetrating into Lancaſhire; rapidly ſpoiled that diſtrict; and ere Edward could meet or intercept them, returned ſafely home, with an immenſe booty *.

Edward invades Scotland, fruitleſsly.

At length, the Engliſh army began its march. A fleet with proviſions, attended its progreſs, along the eaſtern coaſt. Edward entered the Scottiſh frontiers; but no enemy appeared, to oppoſe his career. He advanced; and ſtill found all the land before him, ſilent and deſerted of both man and beaſt. From the ſpoilation of the religious houſes, he, as yet, kept back his ſoldiers. Every where elſe, the country was waſte and deſolate. A lame bull

* H. Knyghton 25. 39:—Fædera, Tom. III. 927:—Walſing. 116.

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bull ſeized near Tranent, was the only prize left to the invaders. They continued their march, as far as Edinburgh; ſtill without meeting an enemy; and without finding any thing in the country, by the waſte of which they might either profit themſelves, or annoy the Scots. Their proviſions were, by this time, wholly conſumed; and Edward was therefore again obliged to turn back, and conduct his army homewards; out of a country of which the inhabitants ſtill triumphed over his attempts to enſlave them, whether they met him in pitched battle, or retiring to their faſtneſſes left the ſcowling elements, and the miſeries of famine, to fight more ſurely for them, than they could have fought for themſelves. The ſoldiers, and the followers of the Engliſh army, furious from want and baffled revenge, plundered the Abbies of Holyrood, and Melroſe; burnt that of Dryburgh, to the ground, as well as various cells and churches; ſlew ſeveral unoffending eccleſiaſtics; and ſacrilegiouſly violated the moſt holy things pertaining to religious worſhip. Many of them, after their return home, periſhed by diſeaſes; the effects probably of fatigue and of alternate famine and intemperance; but, which the ſuperſtition of the age taught the Scottiſh clergy to regard, as the vengeance of heaven, conſpicuouſly inflicted on a crowd of wretches whoſe hands were polluted with ſacrilege*.

It

* Barbour, Book XVIII:—Ford. L. XIII. C. 4:—Walſing. 117.

It was not fear, but cautious wiſdom, that had withheld the Scottiſh King from riſking the fate of his kingdom upon the event of a ſingle battle. He had, in the mean time, after directing all the cattle to be driven from the ſouthern diſtricts, to the farther ſide of the Forth; aſſembled his vaſſals, and encamped them at Culroſs, to await the progreſs of the invaders into a territory through which it was ſcarcely poſſible, that they ſhould force their way, in ſpite of all oppoſition;—or the failure of their enterprize, before they ſhould have advanced nearly ſo far. No ſooner were the diſaſters, and the ignominious retreat of the Engliſh, known to Bruce, than he followed hard after them, with all the military force of his kingdom. Edward was at the abbey of Byland in Yorkſhire, taking meaſures for the defence of his frontier, when Bruce, with his army, appeared before the caſtle of Norham. By a ſudden enterprize, the Scots attempted to ſurprize the Engliſh King in his quarters; and he, with difficulty, eſcaped to York; abandoning to the aſſailants, his treaſure and baggage. Douglas and Randolph, with a detachment of the Scottiſh army, undertook to force the Engliſh camp, on that ſide on which it ſeemed to be the moſt eaſily acceſſible. The Engliſh knights made a valiant reſiſtance. Notwithſtanding every effort of the Scots, the conteſt was for a while doubtfully prolonged. Bruce, at laſt, ſent

The Engliſh purſued into England; and routed at Byland.

A. D. 1322.

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ſome bands of his light-armed ſoldiers, Highlanders and Hebudians, to climb the height on which the Engliſh camp was ſeated. Their ſucceſs determined the fate of the battle. A general rout of the Engliſh, enſued. The Scots urged the purſuit to the gates of the city of York. They remained maſters of the Engliſh camp. Many noble priſoners from among the Engliſh, fell into their hands. They continued, after this, for a conſiderable time in Yorkſhire; and ravaged all the country around; or compelled thoſe of its inhabitants who were ſpared, to buy their ſafety, by the payment of heavy contributions*.

Edward found a melancholy conſolation for this recent diſgrace and misfortune, in the conviction and puniſhment of Andrew de Harclaw, Earl of Carliſle; who had entered, ſome time before, into a ſecret and traitorous correſpondence with the King of the Scots; the object of which, appears to have been, to compel Edward to agree to a peace with the Scots, upon ſuch terms, as Bruce and Harclaw ſhould, in concert, dictate to him.

Another truce.

By the mediation of ſome of the noble Engliſh priſoners, who had lately fallen into the hands of the Scots, a new truce was, about the ſame time, negotiated between the two Monarchs, to endure for

* Barbour, B. XVIII:—Fœdera III. 975. 978.

for the term of three years. It provided for the preſervation of the meeting borders of the two kingdoms, in the ſame unfortified condition, in which they lay, at the time when the truce was agreed upon. It left the Scots, at liberty to reconcile themſelves to the Court of Rome, ſo far as this reconciliation could be promoted or hindered by the formal conſent, or the formal prohibition of the King of England. But, Edward, tenacious of name and form, when the ſubſtance of dominion was hopeleſsly loſt, would not yet yield to Bruce, the title of *King of the Scots*. Nor would he yet, conſent to ſuch a permanent peace, as might imply, that he, for ever relinquiſhed all deſigns againſt the independency of the Scottiſh nation*. A. D. 1323.

Thus at reſt, for a time, on the ſide of England. Bruce and his ſubjects renewed their negotiations with the Papal Court. Although the Pope had lately diſcovered, if not any great kindneſs towards the Scots, yet at leſt, a prudent reluctance to enforce the ſpiritual ſentences of puniſhment, which had been, perhaps unavoidably pronounced againſt them; thoſe ſentences, nevertheleſs, ſtill hung over their heads; and whenever the temporal miſeries of famine, maſſacre, and ſlavery were overcome,

* Fœdera III. 983. 988. 999, 1000. 1003.

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overcome, or evaded; the terrours of the Pope's ſpiritual artillery, then began to preſs upon their minds; and the force of its aſſault, to be felt by them, with trembling horrour. Randolph was diſpatched to Avignon, the occaſional ſeat of the Papal Court, to ſupplicate for his fellow-countrymen, a renewal of the paternal favour and regard of the Holy Pontiff. In obedience to the inſtructions of his Sovereign; by the ſuggeſtions of his own prudence; or in compliance with the advice of friends who knew the temper of the Pope and his miniſters: Randolph firſt ſolicited for himſelf, permiſſion to repair, in military pilgrimage, to the Holy Land; before daring to repreſent any thing concerning the public affairs of his nation. The requeſt, although not inſtantly granted, was, however, not ungraciouſly received. A communing aroſe, upon it, in the courſe of which, Randolph was encouraged to aſſume, in ſome ſort, the character of Ambaſſador from his Sovereign. Then ſkilfully intermingling profeſſions of humble ſubmiſſion, ſcruples, promiſes, and inſinuated threats; he gradually ſoothed all the remaining reſentment of his Holineſs, againſt the excommunicated Scots; and at laſt perſuaded him to addreſs a bull to Bruce, by the title of *King*. This was a triumph of artful and maſterly policy, not leſs honourable to Randolph, or leſs grateful to his Sovereign, than any of his moſt illuſtrious, milita-

Randolph ſent ambaſſador to the Papal Court.

ry

ry exploits. The Pope, thus far reconciled to the Scots, again interposed his good offices to procure a lasting peace between them, and their potent neighbours. Edward, however indignant at the discovery, that the title of his rival, had been, at last, recognized by the Papal Court, was, nevertheless, obliged to content himself with fruitless complaints; and was even induced, at length, by the exigencies of his affairs, and by the urgent exhortations of the Holy Pontiff, to open new negotiations for the final settlement of tranquility and peaceful intercourse between the Scots and English, as two independent nations*.

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Negotiations for a final peace

YORK was the city in which the commissioners of the two nations met, to negotiate the intended treaty. The negotiations were for a while fruitlessly protracted. The Scots would not surrender their dearly recovered possessions, or consent to tarnish, by mean submission, the glory of their victories: nor were the English, as yet, cordially willing to resign the nominal sovereignty of Scotland. The conferences between the commissioners, were broken up, without having contributed, in any degree, to the accomplishment of the desireable purpose, for which they had been opened†.

A. D. 1324.

ALMOST

* Fœdera IV. 28, 29. 46.

† Fœdera IV. 70. 141, &c.

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Almost every ſucceſſive event, however, ſerved to confirm the royal power and honours of Bruce, and the independency of the Scots. The amity between the Scottiſh nation and the King of France, had been happily renewed by an embaſſy from Scotland, to the French Court, about the time when the anger of the Pope, was ſo ſkilfully deprecated by Randolph. A ſon was now born to Bruce; to whom he gave the name of David; and whoſe birth was an event ſingularly joyful, both to his father, and to the whole nation; becauſe the King had now no other child ſurviving; and becauſe this event gave to the Scots the lives of two infants, inſtead of the life of only one, which they poſſeſſed before, as ſureties to preſerve them from the miſeries of a diſputed and uncertain ſucceſſion to the throne of their kingdom. Soon after the birth of young David Bruce, the King convoked his vaſſals to a parliament, at Cambuſkenneth: They did homage to his ſon, as the apparent heir to his dominions: And young Robert Stewart, the ſon of the King's deceaſed daughter, Marjory Bruce, was declared to be now removed, by the birth of David Bruce, to the ſecond rank in the order of the regal ſucceſſion. Amidſt theſe tranſactions, the ſiſter of the King, the widow of Chriſtopher Seaton, was given in marriage to Andrew Moray, the ſon of the brave Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the companion

Birth of David Bruce, and other domeſtic events.

companion of Wallace, and who fell in the glorious battle of Stirling. This marriage ſerved to ſtrengthen the houſe of Bruce, by adding another brave and illuſtrious Baron to the number of thoſe who were, by affinity, related to it. But, that houſe loſt at the ſame time, one of its moſt gallant defenders, and moſt diſtinguiſhed ornaments, by the death of Walter, the father of young Robert Stewart: He died in the prime of his life; after having diſplayed a wiſdom, and a heroiſm, which had encouraged his country to conceive the moſt ſanguine hopes of his maturer years: His loſs was deeply and univerſally lamented*.

Edward of England, depoſed, and murthered.

Before the expiration of the truce, Bruce was gratified by the news of the fall of his rival and oppreſſor, Edward, the Second, King of England. From his very acceſſion to the throne, his continual follies and misfortunes had rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his own ſubjects: His reign had been divided between inteſtine conteſts with his own Barons, and the unfortunate ſeries of his wars with the Scots: One unworthy favourite after another, had ſtill engroſſed his affection, and perverted his counſels, till at laſt even his wife and his eldeſt ſon were moved to take up arms againſt him. They ſoon prevailed: He was compelled to reſign

* Fordun. XIII. 5. 12:—Barbour, Book XIX.

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resign the Crown to his son; and by the guilty contrivance of his wife and her paramour Mortimer, was soon after, inhumanly murdered. The dissentions of his enemies, and the prospect of the government of a boy, a woman, and an adulterous minion, might gratify Bruce with the hopes of uninterrupted peace, or certain victory in his future intercourse with the English*.

The war renewed by an invasion of England.

Whatever his views or motives, he failed not to take advantage of his own growing strength and their calamities; and he is said to have violated the truce, which had not yet expired, by a sudden irruption into the English territories, about the time of the death of Edward the Second. The seizure of some Scottish vessels bound to the coast of Flanders, by English ships of superior force, perhaps excited the Scots to instant retaliation, or afforded them at least, a specious pretext for the renewal of hostilities. Negotiations for a lasting treaty of peace, had, indeed been renewed by the new administration of the English government; but, the sudden invasion which the Scots now prepared, might be intended to compel the English to an immediate acquiescence in those terms of mutual peace, to which the Scots were willing to agree. Before the English, whatever their diligence and

* Fœdera IV. 243, &c.

activity, could muſter an army for the defence of their frontiers; Douglas and Randolph, at the head of nearly twenty thouſand of thoſe brave veterans, whom experience in all Bruce's wars, had made the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſoldiers of their age; paſſed out of Annandale and Eſkdale, into the bordering counties of England, and advanced onwards with a deſtroying and menacing career. Yet, Edward the Third, had with extraordinary promptitude, ſummoned his military vaſſals, hired German mercenaries, muſtered an army of more than fifty thouſand men, and marched northwards with this great force, as far as to Durham, ere the Scots could penetrate into Lancaſhire, or Yorkſhire. The Scots were not aware of the approach of ſo formidable an army, to oppoſe them; or they perhaps diſdained to retire before enemies, whoſe courage, diſcipline, and conduct, were now, in compariſon with their own, extremely contemptible in their eyes. Bruce himſelf was abſent; and even Randolph and Douglas, although military commanders almoſt unequalled in wiſdom and ſagacity, as well as in valour; had their ardour leſs happily tempered by cool and ſteady caution, than was the heroiſm in the ſoul of their King*.

* Barbour, B. XIX:—Fœdera IV. 281. 287. 290;—Fordun, XII. 12:—Froiſſart I. 16.

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In theſe relative circumſtances, the Engliſh were encouraged to flatter themſelves, that they might, without great difficulty, circumvent and cut off the inferior force of the Scots. They deſcried from afar, the ſmoke aſcending from the fires in the Scottiſh camp, or from the conflagrations with which the ſpoilers deſolated the country. Perceiving by this indication, that the Scots had proceeded to ſome diſtance ſouthward beyond the river Tyne; the Engliſh leaders haſtily directed the march of their army to the banks of this river; hoping to reach it, before the enemy ſhould have repaſſed its ſtream, and there, to deſtroy, or make them priſoners. They marched with extraordinary quickneſs, and by very difficult ways, to Haidon on the banks of this river. The ſtream was there ſo much ſwollen by recent rains, that, although the cavalry readily croſſed it, the infantry could not follow. After ſome delay, in anxiety, uncertainty, and impatience, the whole army changed the direction of their march, and began to return ſouthward, ſtill in purſuit of the Scots. But, the movements and deſigns of the enemy were abſolutely unknown to Edward's army. A number of both Knights and Eſquires were incited by the proclamation of a reward from the King, for the firſt news of the invaders; to ſet out ſingly, in order to deſcry the poſition of the Scottiſh army, and bring this wiſhed-for intelligence. On the fourth

The Engliſh ſtrive to intercept the Scots.

fourth day after the return from the banks of the Tyne, Thomas Rokeſby, an Eſquire, brought notice, that, while wandering about, in ſearch of the Scots, he had been made priſoner by them; but had been diſmiſſed to carry the news to his friends; aſſoon as the Scots learned from him, that the Engliſh were in queſt of them, and eager to give them battle.

The Scots having encamped on advantageous ground which had in front, the river Were, and was defended on the other ſides by precipitous rocks, had there for eight days awaited the approach of the enemy; becauſe, although willing to fight, they did not deſire to fight, without employing every poſſible precaution of ſoldierly conduct, in order, beforehand, to aſſure themſelves of victory. They wiſhed to be attacked in their camp; not to ruſh, in diſorder, againſt the hoſtile army, upon equal ground. The Engliſh eagerly followed Rokeſby, as their guide, till they came within ſight of the Scottiſh camp. It was impregnable, and inacceſſible. Edward in vain endeavoured, by the courteſy of a knightly challenge, and by every artifice of provocation, to draw Douglas and Randolph, from the unaſſailable poſition, from which they defied his approach, with all his numerous hoſt. Should he retire before them? they would, no doubt, ſally inſtantly forth, and ſoon drive his retreat into total confuſion and flight. Yet, ſince the Engliſh had the command

Challenge them to a battle.

of

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of the open country, and were ſufficiently numerous, to inveſt the Scottiſh camp; it appeared probable, that the Scots might, within no long time, be more ſurely conquered by famine and a blockade, than if they could have been drawn into equal combat.

The Scots were too circumſpect and vigilant, not to be aware of their danger. On the morning of the third day, after the Engliſh had poſted themſelves in front of the Scottiſh camp, the former with aſtoniſhment perceived, that their enemies had decamped during the night, and had eſcaped thus out of their hands. It was ſoon after diſcovered, that the Scots had moved only two miles farther up the bank of the river Were; and had there again encamped, in the middle of a wood, and in a poſition ſtill ſtronger than that which they had, at firſt, occupied. The Engliſh commanders led their forces after, and ſoon placed their camp near to the Scots, as before; and now, upon the ſame ſide of the river. Notwithſtanding the gallantry, the diſcipline, the fortitude, and the abſtinence of the Scots; it ſeemed now to be hardly poſſible for them to eſcape out of the hands of the Engliſh, without a battle, or to fight againſt ſuch odds, with hopes of victory.

Skilful manœuvres of Douglas and Randolph.

In theſe difficulties, Douglas was induced to try a nocturnal enterprize againſt the Engliſh camp. A choſen band accompanied him. They paſſed

paſſed, without diſcovery or oppoſition, into the midſt of the hoſtile tents; then, raiſing a ſhout of tremendous rage; began a deſperate ſlaughter of their foes. The perſon of the young Engliſh King, was the prize they ſought. To his tent, they quickly penetrated: But, while his chaplain, and other ſervants of his houſehold, met their attack, and fell by their hands, Edward himſelf eſcaped, in the tumult. Thus terrible, and ſucceſsful, yet diſappointed of his chief purpoſe; Douglas now hewed his way through the midſt of the awakened and alarmed Engliſh; and led his brave followers back into the Scottiſh camp. By this enterprize, however, the confidence of the Scots, in their own valour, was confirmed; the ardour of the Engliſh ſoldiers, was confounded and repreſſed; the Scots acquired in the eſtimation of themſelves and their enemies, a ſort of ſuperiority, which made them, in ſome degree, maſters, either to give battle, or to retire ſafely, at their pleaſure.

Douglas attacks the Engliſh camp by night.

On the following day, orders were given out by the Scottiſh commanders, that all their troops ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs to follow Douglas upon another enterprize, in the approaching night. Theſe orders were made known to the Engliſh, by a priſoner who fell into their hands, in the courſe of the day. No longer ſuſpecting the Scots of intentions of flight; they concluded, that the new enterprize meditated, muſt be a general aſ-

ſault

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fault upon their camp. When night came on, therefore, they kindled up blazing fires; ſet a ſtrong watch round their tents, and reſted under their arms. All night, they anxiouſly kept watch; expecting every moment the alarm, that the Scots were upon them. When morning came, they quickly underſtood, with ſurprize and ſhame; that the Scots had indeed left their camp, in the night; but, that, inſtead of coming to aſſail the Engliſh camp, they had turned their march homewards, and were now almoſt beyond the reach of purſuit. So very differently had the Engliſh conceived of the valour and indiſcretion of their daring, yet wary enemies; that they could not, for a while, credit this news. They left their tents, but ſtood for ſome hours in order of battle; not daring to advance; but ſtill expecting to ſee the Scots, on one ſide or another, behind or before; riſe againſt them, out of ambuſh; or come upon them by ſome circuitous march. When the retreat of the Scots, could no longer be doubted; the ſort of fearful expectation with which the Engliſh had awaited their attack, was ſuddenly changed for the indignant anger, or perhaps with ſome, the inſolent bullying, of outwitted, diſappointed valour. Young Edward; who even now began to give hopes, that he would prove a King more like to his grandfather, than to his father; wept bitterly, when he perceived his enemies to have thus eſcaped out of his

The Scots retire.

Diſappointment and grief of the Engliſh King.

his hands; and saw the design of his expedition to be thus almost wholly frustrated.

An extensive morass, impassable by cavalry, now parted the van of the English army from the Scottish rear. Pursuit would have been dangerous and hopeless. The English army were worn out by the tedious, harrassing service in which they had been engaged. Being so much more numerous than the Scots, and in the middle of a desolated country, they began to suffer by the same famine, by means of which they had thought to vanquish their enemies. Douglas and Randolph led their forces home in glory and safety. The English, out of curiosity, rather than in the hope of finding any rich booty; entered the camp which the Scots had deserted; and found in it nothing, but some of those leathern bags in which the Scottish soldiers were accustomed to carry their corn or meal; some of the gridirons which they used in roasting their cakes; some vessels made of raw hides, in which they had seethed their flesh; some thousands of *brogues*, made of raw hides and stitched with thongs, which were the only coverings the Scots in general had for their feet; and some English prisoners, having their legs broken, and being stripped naked, and bound to trees. Every thing they saw, served to convince them, that their design to starve into surrender, an army so savagely abstinent and hardy, had been the extravagance of errour and folly; and

Emptiness of the Scottish camp.

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and that to renew the purſuit of the Scots, would be, to ruſh upon deſtruction*.

Judgment of the military conduct of the Scottiſh leaders, upon this occaſion.

This extrication of their army out of extreme danger, and the boldneſs and ſafety of their retreat, were indeed peculiarly glorious to Randolph and Douglas. To the Engliſh commanders it was highly diſgraceful; to have brought northward, ſo mighty an army of Engliſhmen and foreign mercenaries, for the chaſtiſement of invaders, to a contemptible degree inferior in numbers and martial equipment; and yet, to have been foiled of their purpoſe, in a manner that tended ſtill to augment the ſtrength, and to heighten the inſolence of their enemies. But, it cannot be denied, that the Scots had acted with imprudence and temerity unworthy of their military experience; when they proceeded ſo far into England, in the face of an hoſtile army, the force and deſigns of which could not be diſtinctly known to them; and when, inſtead of retreating aſſoon as they had ſpoiled the country, and knew that the Engliſh were waiting, to intercept their return; they, with ſo much foolhardineſs, encamped to await the approach of their enemies, and defied them to battle. However maſterly the generalſhip, by which ſo ſucceſsful a retreat was, at laſt accompliſhed; yet, but for ſome

* Barbour, B. XIX:—Froiſſart I. 17. 19, 20. 22, &c.

lucky incidents which aroſe independently of the vigilance and precautions of the Scots; and but for the confuſion and imbecility in the counſels of the Engliſh; all the ability of Randolph and Douglas, muſt have failed to deliver them out of the danger into which they had too raſhly preſſed.

Another invaſion of England.

Scarcely had Douglas and Randolph returned home in triumph, when their King aſſembled all his forces, and again invaded the Engliſh borders. It was neceſſary to harraſs the Engliſh with inceſſant hoſtilities, until they ſhould be reduced to accept peace on the condition of their acknowledging the independence of the Scottiſh monarchy. With one diviſion of his forces, the King himſelf inveſted the caſtle of Norham: Douglas and Randolph, with another diviſion, were detached to beſiege the caſtle of Alnwick: A third was employed to ſcour the country, and to bring in, from time to time, proviſions and intelligence. After ſome firſt efforts which convinced them, that they had not forces, ſtores, and military engines, ſufficient to enable them, to overcome the reſiſtance of the garriſon; Douglas and Randolph deſiſted from the ſiege of Alnwick-Caſtle, and rejoined the King, before that of Norham. Bruce, although this caſtle ſtill continued to hold out againſt his aſſaults, perſiſted in the ſiege; until, by the offers of ſuch conceſſions on the part of England,

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land, as ſhould fully ſatisfy all his wiſhes, in a laſting peace; he was induced to pauſe from hoſtilities, and to return home, that the terms of pacification between the two nations, might be finally adjuſted*.

Isabella, the widow of Edward the Second of England, and Mortimer, her favourite, held, at this time, the reins of the Engliſh government. But, the crimes by which they had deprived Edward the Second of his crown and life, had already made their ſway not leſs odious than that of the murthered Monarch, to the Engliſh Barons. Young Edward was ſtill in pupilage to his mother and Mortimer: He had not yet wiſdom or energy to direct the adminiſtration of the royal power: Nor could even the fair hopes of his youth, acquire the requiſite popularity to a queen, the murdereſs of her huſband, and to the minion whom ſhe admitted to her unchaſte bed. The ill-fortune of the laſt expedition againſt the Scots, had exhauſted the reſources of this abhorred adminiſtration, and had, almoſt wholly unbraced the nerves of their authority. To the renewed invaſion of the Scots, they had no forces, to oppoſe; or at leſt none in whoſe obedience and fidelity, they could confide. The conteſt for the dominion of Scotland, had been, in truth,

Reaſons urging the Engliſh to Peace.

* Barbour, Book XX.

truth, finally decided by the battle of Bannockburn; although the mutual and inveterate animosities of the two nations; and especially the unwillingness of the English to own their weakness, and to sit down patient under their disgrace; had, for so many subsequent years, prolonged the war. Should the Scots, at length, succeed in the conquest of the castles which guarded the English frontier; they might soon divide, perhaps for ever, from the dominions of England, those northern provinces, which they had long ravaged with unsparing fury. Should the English Barons rise in arms, against the government of Isabella and Mortimer; the alliance of the King of the Scots, would readily ensure them success in their purposes. Pressed by these difficulties, the English rulers saw themselves, at last, under the necessity of asking peace from the Scottish Monarch, upon his own terms. After the Scottish forces were withdrawn from before Norham, the negotiations for peace, were prosecuted with the utmost earnestness, and mutual candour*.

A Peace finally ratified at Northampton.

It was while he remained before Norham, that William de Denoun came to propose to Bruce, a marriage between his only son David Bruce, and Jane the eldest sister of the young King of England;

* Scala Chronica, apud Leland I. 551, &c.

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land; as the fundamental condition, on which Edward, with his tutors and counſellors, were deſirous to conclude an alliance with the Scots. Bruce heard the propoſal with a willing ear. A truce afforded time for the neceſſary negotiations. Plenipotentiary Commiſſioners from the two Kings; meeting by appointment, at Newcaſtle; ſettled, after no long diſcuſſion, the preliminary articles of the intended pacification and alliance. Edward then convoked his Parliament, at York, ſolemnly renounced, with their conſent, all the claims of his Crown, to the ſovereignty of Scotland; reſtored to the Scottiſh Monarchy, for as much as in him lay, all its rights of dominion and independency, which it had enjoyed at the death of Alexander the Third; and formally reſigned the benefit of all written deeds, by which any authority over the King or the people of Scotland, might have been yielded to the Crown of England. After the Engliſh King, with the conſent of his Parliament, had thus conceded the only grand condition of peace on which the Scots inflexibly inſiſted; there remained little more to be done for the compleat reſtoration of tranquillity, except the formal ratification of the treaty, in that detail which muſt neceſſarily proceed from the application of the fundamental articles to particular circumſtances. It was finally ratified, at Northampton, in the month of April,

A. D. 1324.

in

in the year one thouſand three hundred and twenty eight*. Sect. I. Ch. VIII.

In this treaty, it was ſtipulated for the two nations, by their Monarchs: That there ſhould be henceforth perpetual peace between them; That the ſacred ſtone, on which the Scottiſh Kings had been wont to be ſeated at their coronation, and which had been carried away by the Engliſh, ſhould be reſtored to the Scots: That, the King of England ſhould interpoſe his good offices towards the full reconciliation of the Scottiſh King and his ſubjects, to the Holy See: That, in compenſation for theſe favours, and for the devaſtation which the Scots had ſpread through the northern diſtricts of England; the King of the Scots ſhould pay to the Engliſh King, the ſum of thirty thouſand merks, in three annual payments of ten thouſand merks each: That thoſe poſſeſſions which had been wreſted, during the war, from the Clergy of either kingdom, ſhould be reſtored; and the damages which eccleſiaſtical perſons had ſuſtained, fully compenſated: That, in general, the eſtates poſſeſſed by Engliſh ſubjects in Scotland, before the war, and in the courſe of it, forfeited to the Scottiſh King; and in the ſame manner, eſtates poſſeſſed Subſtance of the treaty.

* Fœdera IV. 328. 337:—A. Murimuth 72:—Barbour XX.

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poſſeſſed by Scottiſh ſubjects in England, before the war, and in conſequence of it, forfeited to the Engliſh King; ſhould remain with the monarch to whom they had been reſpectively forfeited, without being, of neceſſity, to be reſtored to their original owners, in conſequence of this treaty: That, in exception, nevertheleſs, from this laſt article, Thomas Wake, Henry de Beaumont, and Henry Piercy, Engliſh Lords, ſhould be reſtored to their ancient poſſeſſions in Scotland: That Jane, ſiſter to the King of England, ſhould be given in marriage to David, the Scottiſh Prince: That a jointure of lands and rents, to the amount of two thouſand pounds a year, ſhould be ſecured to the Engliſh Princeſs, at her marriage to the heir of the Scottiſh Crown, for the ſupport of her widowhood, if ſhe ſhould happen to ſurvive her huſband: That, either of the contracting parties failing to fulfil the conditions of this treaty, ſhould, as the penalty for the failure, pay to the Pope, the ſum of two thouſand pounds of ſilver*.

Such was the ſubſtance of this important and memorable treaty. Its reciprocal conditions appear to have been wiſe and advantageous, equally to

* Fordun XIII. 12:—Introduction to Calendar of Ancient Charters, P. 56. 58:—Barbour, B. XX:—Fœdera IV. 337. 350. 375. 384. 410. 464. 467.

to the Scots, and to the Engliſh. For its happy ſettlement, the two nations were indebted, not leſs to the prudent moderation of the Scottiſh Monarch, than to the weakneſs and the perplexities of the Engliſh adminiſtration. It formally cloſed a war of nearly forty years duration; which had remarkably called forth, all the latent energies in the character of the Scottiſh people; and had greatly exhauſted the ſtrength, depreſſed the courage, and tarniſhed the glory of the Engliſh.

Cauſes of the ſucceſſes of the Scots.

It is not difficult to diſtinguiſh thoſe primary cauſes, to which the ſucceſs of the Scots, was owing, in this great ſtruggle for their national liberties. From the beginning of their efforts under Wallace, the Scots fought for themſelves,—for their national, and every one for his individual, exiſtence; while the Engliſh fought, only for their King: And the genius, the force, and the reſources of man, are always augmented in the proportion of the urgency of the motives by which he is impelled into action: Man degraded into a ſlave, obeying implicitly the will, and toiling for the ſole benefit of another, has his powers and faculties benumbed, and becomes feeble and torpid: Maſter of himſelf, and contending to preſerve this maſtery, his frame is nerved with gigantic force, and his mind illuminated, at times, with angelic intelligence. In his own houſe, on his own domains, with-

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in the boundaries of his native country, a man has always conſiderable advantages againſt the ſtranger who approaches him, as an enemy: The local reſources of a country, are known to its inhabitants; and always in a great meaſure unknown to invaders: All the habits of life familiar to the native, enable him to avail himſelf, much more, than a ſtranger can do, of whatever is peculiar in the circumſtances of his country: There is a myſterious ſympathy between the very inanimate mountains, dales, and woods of a territory, and its indigenous poſſeſſors, which in an inexpreſſible manner, exalts the force and the reſolution of men fighting in defence of their native land. The poſſeſſors of wild, barren, and inacceſſible countries, have ever, like the Scots in the preſent inſtance, triumphed over the invaſion of their richer neighbours who were the heirs of fairer regions; becauſe a country conſiſting of one chain of natural fortreſſes, is thus formed to bound the progreſs of conqueſt; and becauſe no conquering army can enter, or at leſt fix themſelves in, territories in which they cannot find the neceſſaries for ſubſiſtence. Even before the commencement of this long war with England, the Scots poſſeſſed an extraordinary ſhare of that ſavage energy of character; which, in order to raiſe them to the higheſt military glory, wanted only to be tempered to diſcretion, and diſciplined to firmneſs: That diſcretion, and this diſcipline,

cipline, they unavoidably acquired, in the courſe of a conteſt, ſo continuing, and ſo obſtinate: Their generals and their ſoldiers became, upon this, the moſt ſkilful, and the braveſt of the Age. The progreſſive events and the final iſſue of this war, were likewiſe directed in no ſmall degree by the relative perſonal characters of the different leaders who conducted it: Had Wallace not ariſen, Edward the Firſt might perhaps have eſtabliſhed the dominion of the Engliſh over Scotland, ſo firmly, as to render it ſecure againſt all ſubſequent rebellion: Had John Balliol poſſeſſed the great qualities of Wallace, or of Bruce; Scotland might never have been ſubjected by the arms or the artifices of the Engliſh King: Had Edward the Firſt ſurvived for ſome years longer, in the full vigour of his ſtrength and faculties; or if Edward the Second had happened to poſſeſs the abilities of his father, or of Bruce; it is probable, that the independence of the Scottiſh nation, could not have been reſtored. Such appear to have been the grand cauſes, upon the concurrence of which, depended the ſucceſs of thoſe efforts of the Scots, which were ultimately crowned by the treaty of Northampton,

Death of Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, the conſort of the Scottiſh King, lived not to ſee this termination of her huſband's troubles; but died, on the twenty-ſixth day of

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October, in the year one thouſand three hundred and twenty-ſeven; and was interred at Dunfermling; which had been, for ſome generations, the ordinary burying-place of the Kings and Queens of Scotland.—Within two months after the completion of the treaty of Northampton, young David Bruce received in marriage, as had been ſtipulated, Jane of England, the ſiſter of Edward the Third.—Robert Bruce did not long ſurvive theſe events. His health had been waſted by the perils, fatigues, and diſtreſſes to which he had been expoſed in the courſe of his wars; and by an inveterate and incurable *leproſy*; a contagious diſtemper probably introduced into Europe, from the Eaſt, by ſoldiers returning from the cruſades; and which was unhappily favoured in its ravages, by the uncomfortable lodging, the dirty clothing, and the unwholeſome diet of the Scots of this Age.

Death of Robert Bruce.

A. D. 1329.

He died at Cardroſs, on the ſeventh day of June, in the year one thouſand three hundred and twenty-nine, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, the twenty-fourth of his reign. His body was buried at Dunfermling, beſide that of his lately deceaſed ſpouſe*.

As an atonement for the ſacrilegious aſſaſſination of Comyn; and for the guilt which he had incurred

* Barbour, Book XX:—Heming. II. 269:—Fordun. XIII. 12. 14.

incurred by his long and obſtinate diſobedience to the authority of the Holy See, as well as by the ravages unavoidably committed upon the eſtates of the Engliſh Clergy, in his frequent inroads into the northern provinces of England: Bruce had long intended to aſſume the croſs, and to repair in devout pilgrimage to the Holy Land, whenever the affairs of his kingdom would permit. The reſolution was natural, even in a mind ſo manly and unenfeebled as his, at a time when this pilgrimage was univerſally preached, as a full expiation for every crime. In his laſt hours, he anxiouſly deſired, that, after his death, his heart at leaſt, ſhould be conveyed to Jeruſalem, and depoſited at the Holy Sepulchre. The gallant Douglas, his old and faithful companion in arms, undertook to fulfil this laſt wiſh of his maſter. Randolph, agreeably to the parliamentary ſettlement which had been formerly made, was to become Guardian to the young King, and Regent of the kingdom*.

Douglas undertakes to convey the King's heart to the Holy Land.

Robert Bruce is one of the moſt illuſtrious names that have been preſerved in the records of Hiſtory. The train of his life and actions, remarkably evince, that the genius and character of man, are formed, in a great meaſure, by the influence

* Barbour, Book XX:—Fœdera IV. 400.

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ence of the circumſtances in which he is educated. Nothing could be more fickle, faithleſs, irreſolute, and idly turbulent, than Bruce's conduct when he firſt entered upon the ſtage of public affairs, in his opening manhood. What great quality, except deſperate boldneſs, did he diſplay in the firſt luckleſs enterprize, in which he ſeized the Crown? But, the ſtate of almoſt total deſertion to which he was reduced by the loſs of the battle of Methven; the perils and hardſhips amidſt which he for ſome time wandered, an outlaw rather than a King! the neceſſity under which he then found himſelf, either of conquering, or of periſhing unhonoured and unpitied; the deſtitution under which he, for a while laboured, of almoſt all reſources, except what his own powers of contrivance and conciliation, of acting and ſuffering, could furniſh; the riſing ſucceſs which began, at length, to crown his efforts; the intimate connection between his own private intereſts and the welfare of his country, by which his perſonal ambition was neceſſarily exalted into patriotiſm; the continual vigilance and enterprize, which became neceſſary, that he might maintain and proſecute his firſt ſucceſſes; growing experience; and the high and voluntary confidence, which, he muſt have felt with pride, that the Scottiſh nation at length almoſt univerſally repoſed in his valour and his virtues: This combination and ſeries of circumſtances and e-

vents

vents in the fortune of his life, gradually reſtrained the levity, tempered the ardour, and concentrated the energy of Bruce's character; enlightened his underſtanding, and mellowed his paſſions; elevated and enlarged his ſoul with a magnanimity, allied alike to heroiſm, and to wiſdom; ſoftened his heart to pity for the woes of others, and at the ſame time ſtrengthened it to bear his own; taught him to diſcern the true intereſts of his country; and made him a maſter, almoſt unrivalled, of the arts of government, and of war. The humanity with which Bruce, like Wallace, was ever ready to ſpare his enemies, except amidſt the fury of battle, is another illuſtrious inſtance proving, that valour is always incapable of deliberate cruelty. The diſmantlement or demolition of the Scottiſh caſtles, as they fell into his hands; becauſe the Engliſh alone had machines to batter, and proviſions, arms, and treaſure to ſtore in them; was a meaſure of extraordinary prudence and foreſight. Bruce had the fortune to be aſſiſted by ſome of the wiſeſt and braveſt men of the Age in which he lived; Douglas, Randolph, and Walter Stewart, and Edward Bruce, with many others who ſerved under him, and whoſe characters had been formed by the ſame circumſtances which faſhioned his: But, only when guided by their Sovereign's preſence and counſels, did theſe illuſtrious men, entirely avoid errour in the conduct of their military

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military expeditions, or in the civil tranſactions in which they were engaged: However conſcious of their own merits, they never failed to reverence the ſuperior endowments, ſtill more than the ſovereign authority of their King. The very conſideration, that Bruce roſe from a private condition, to a throne, at a time, when, even to maintain poſſeſſion of a throne peaceably inherited, required extraordinary talents and activity; would be alone ſufficient to perſuade us that he muſt have been one of the moſt eminent perſons who have appeared in the progreſs of human ſociety. His care for the reſtoration of legal order in his dominions, and the excellent laws enacted during his reign, are not leſs honourable to his civil adminiſtration, than are his wars to his military talents. It beſpeaks extraordinary wiſdom and worth of character in him, that he was able to preſerve to the laſt, the attachment of ſo many warlike followers, whoſe ſervices had created his fortune, and whom it muſt have been impoſſible for him, to reward, to the full meaſure of thoſe merits which they, in their own eſtimation, poſſeſſed. In abilities, Bruce was certainly not inferior, in magnanimous integrity he was greatly ſuperior, to his firſt formidable enemy, Edward the Firſt of England. Of all the illuſtrious men who lived nearly about the ſame period, only his fellow-countryman, Wallace, appears to have poſſeſſed thoſe qualities which conſtitute

ſtitute true greatneſs of character, in a more eminent degree, than Bruce.

By his firſt wife, Iſabella, the daughter of Donald, Earl of Marre, Robert Bruce had a daughter, Marjory, who died before her father. His ſecond wife, Elizabeth, daughter to Aymer De Burgh, Earl of Ulſter, bore to him, three daughters, Margaret, Matilda, and Elizabeth, and his ſon, David, who ſucceeded him on the throne. He left one natural ſon named after himſelf, Robert*.

BOOK

* Fordun. XII. 23:—Charter of Sutherland 14th Oct. 1347:—Crawfurd's Peerage, 72. 377.

Sect. II.

BOOK III.

Section II.

History of the Labours, Knowledge, and Enjoyments of the Inhabitants of Scotland, during the latter part of the Thirteenth Century, and in the beginning of the Fourteenth.

In the preceding ſection, we have purſued the hiſtory of the Scottiſh nation, through a ſeries of wars and negotiations, victories and defeats, invaſions of their country, and expeditions into the territories of their enemies, truces reluctantly concluded, and ſoon impatiently violated, grand and rugged virtues, fierce and barbarous crimes, ſuch as fill the annals, with only ſome ſlight diverſities, of almoſt all the kingdoms of Europe, for the ſame period. However intereſting, by the wonderful energy of human character diſplayed in them, and by the continual perils, alarming to ſympathy, in which we have ſeen the heroes of each paſſing ſcene, to be involved; yet, have theſe events, as we advanced through them, gradually loſt much of their power over the imagination and the feelings; by means of that conſtant recurrence, which they exhibit, of a few ſimilar incidents ſtill proceeding from the ſame cauſes, and terminating, with few variations, ſtill in a ſimilar iſſue. We ſhall,

shall, therefore, relieve and enliven attention, by turning to examine, again more minutely, what sort of men, those were, of whose fortunes we have pursued the tale; what *arts* they practised; with what principles of *knowledge*, their minds were enlightened; what *enjoyments*, that country, and that independence afforded, which they held so dear? Sect. II.

Local circumstances.

I. The *local circumstances* of the Scottish nation, were little altered, and certainly not at all meliorated in the progress of this period. The same humid atmosphere, the same chilling climate, the same scowling winds, still prevailed, without mitigation. The marshes had not yet been drained; the fields were still, almost universally, uninclosed: The rivers were rarely crowned with bridges: The forests were indeed gradually more and more opened up, and cleared away; yet not by useful industry, or to give place to cultivation; but by the waste of fuel, building, and war; and to abandon still more and more of the country to bleak heath, and to sullen, noxious morasses: Around the shores, were no fair havens, artificially formed, to receive perishing vessels from the fury of the seas: The loftier mountains were commonly for two-thirds of the year, covered deep, on their upper parts, with snows: That desolation which was, from time to time, spread over the country, by the ravages of war, effaced, in the course of

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this period, many of thoſe marks of cultivation which had been, before, ſlowly ſcattered over the land: The caſtles and walled towns lay, almoſt every where, in ruins; the very veſtiges of the hamlets and cottages of the peaſantry, were deſtroyed; the gardens and granges belonging to the Clergy, were reduced into the ſame waſte, neglected condition, in which the lands of the laity uſually lay*.

Population.

If the *population* of the whole Scottiſh territories, might be eſtimated at about ſix hundred thouſand ſouls, in the comparatively peaceful reign of Alexander the Third; it muſt have been, at leaſt, prevented from riſing above that number, if not reduced conſiderably below it, by the ſlaughter and devaſtation of thoſe wars which prevailed almoſt uninterruptedly, from the acceſſion of John Balliol, until the death of Robert Bruce. When Bruce led armies of twenty or thirty thouſand men into the field; theſe were almoſt the whole military force of his dominions; two-thirds, at the leaſt, of all thoſe who could bear arms, and who, in the extreme poverty and nakedneſs of the country, could be tolerably equipped for the ſhock of battle. Few remained in garriſons; for, to avoid the neceſſity of this, the caſtles were, for the moſt part, demoliſhed. Many of the meaneſt peaſants, who, in

* Fordun.—Blind Harry:—Barbour:—Anderſon's Diplomata:—Rymer's Fœdera, paſſim.

in more quiet times, would have been refuſed the honour of bearing arms, were, by the neceſſities of war, emancipated from their menial toils, and called to the glory of defending their country's freedom. Even the Clergy were, in various inſtances, prompted to violate the peaceable character of their ſacred profeſſion; and in ſupport of meaſures which were, in an eminent degree, directed by their counſels, to gird on the buckler, to graſp the ſpear, and to ruſh into ſcenes of death and carnage. All the ſame circumſtances which contributed to waſte, with terrible rapidity, the exiſting population of the kingdom, ſerved likewiſe to hinder the waſte from being abundantly ſupplied by the reſources of marriage, and by the adoleſcence of the riſing generations. Famine, terrour, and general wretchedneſs neceſſarily chilled and blaſted the joys of love, and all the ſweet indulgences of connubial tenderneſs. When all the family of death, were let furiouſly looſe upon human life; infancy that ſhould have advanced to recruit the ranks of ſociety, was, by its helpleſs weakneſs, the moſt fatally expoſed to their havock. It ſeems impoſſible, that the population of Scotland, ſhould not have been ſenſibly diminiſhed in the courſe of thoſe long and bloody contentions between the Scots and the Engliſh, which were terminated by the Peace of Northampton*.

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* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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Labours providing ſubſiſtence; hunting and fiſhing.

II. *Hunting* and *fiſhing*, were, eſpecially during this period, two of the moſt conſiderable reſources from which the Scots provided themſelves with *food*. The devaſtation, and the neglect of huſbandry, which were occaſioned by inceſſant war, neceſſarily reduced the inhabitants of the waſted country, to depend, in ſome meaſure, for ſubſiſtence, upon the precarious ſhifts of ſavage life. When Engliſh armies, invading Scotland, had conſumed thoſe ſtores of proviſions, which they brought with them; the tame cattle of the country, where any ſuch remained; the wild cattle, the deer, and the boars of the foreſts; the ſalmons of the rivers, and the trouts of the lakes; were then the only prey, by the uſe of which they could ſave themſelves from periſhing by famine. In his firſt wanderings upon the Grampian mountains, after the defeat at Methven; while he lurked, as a fugitive, among the Hebudian iſles; through many of his ſubſequent viciſſitudes of misfortune and ſucceſs; Bruce was obliged to find proviſions for himſelf and his followers, chiefly by the capture of fiſhes and wild quadrupeds. Fowls were likewiſe objects of prey to the hunter; but more rarely than quadrupeds; becauſe they could be leſs eaſily ſlain with the bow or the ſpear; and becauſe hawks and falcons trained to fowling, were rare and coſtly. The wild boar was accounted the nobleſt animal that could be purſued in the chace: The higheſt honour was paid to a gueſt, in ſetting a boar's head before him,

at

at an entertainment: The repreſentation of a boar's head, was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing enſigns of nobility and valour, that could be diſplayed on the warriour's ſhield. Wolves and foxes were alſo objects of the chace; but not frequently; and only, in ſportive trial of hardihood; or when they were unavoidably encountered. The hills and foreſts, among which the wild quadrupeds roamed, were all divided among different proprietors; each of whom enjoyed the excluſive freedom of the chace, within his own domains. New laws were from time to time, enacted, to regulate the very important right of ſalmon-fiſhing: Certain terms in the year were carefully fixed, during which alone, might ſalmons be lawfully taken: It was ordained, that the *cruives* and *yards*, placed upon rivers, to intercept ſalmons, proceeding up the ſtream, ſhould be conſtructed with ſuch a degree of wideneſs, between the bars, as might permit the ſmaller ſalmons to come and go freely, up and down the river. Salmon's, cut in pieces, ſalted, and depoſited in barrels; were always one capital article of the winter ſtores. Edward the Second of England, immediately before one of his firſt expeditions into Scotland; ſent orders to the citizens of Berwick, to provide for the uſe of his army, ſeveral hundred barrels of ſalmons. All the rivers of Scotland which diſcharged their waters into the ſea, abounded in this excellent ſpecies of fiſhes. Shoals of herrings frequented the weſtern coaſts. Fiſhes

were

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were a reſource againſt famine, ſo much the more certain; becauſe they could not be exterminated, or permanently driven from thoſe ſhores which they were wont to frequent. On the northern and weſtern coaſts, the inhabitants, even in peaceable times, lived chiefly by hunting and fiſhing. On the eaſt and the ſouth-eaſt coaſts, indeed, they appear to have been ſomewhat more induſtrious, and more civilized*.

Domeſticated animals, and management of them.

Within the interior country, the people of Scotland were, during this period, remarkably a *paſtoral* nation. Thoſe half domeſticated animals which they poſſeſſed in the greateſt numbers, appear to have been oxen, horſes, goats, ſwine, and ſheep. The wild *aurochs* was the firſt *variety* of the *ox* known in this iſland, and in the other north-weſt parts of Europe: By the Romans; or perhaps from Spain or Gaul, before the Roman invaſion; that famous breed of milk-white cattle, with brown ears, were probably introduced, for the firſt time, into Scotland, which have been but lately exterminated. The exiſtence of theſe two diſtinct races of oxen; and, it may be, the occaſional introduction of other new breeds; had already produced a conſiderable diverſity in ſize, colours, and

* Barbour and Blind Harry *paſſim*:—Ayloffe's Calendar, P. 135. 140:—Rymer's Fædera III. 95:—Anderſon's Diplomata, Pl. 24. and 25.—Statiſtical Account of the town and pariſh of Dunfermling, &c.

and useful qualities, among the cattle in the herds which belonged to the Scots of this period. As the forests were opened up, and appropriated; the numbers of the *aurochs*-race, had begun to be gradually diminished: When other oxen, more gentle, or more useful for the draught, or for their milk, flesh, or hides, came to be preferred, as tame cattle, to the beautiful, milk-white breed; these last were, by degrees, abandoned to the wild life of deer, on the mountains, and in the forests. The *horse*, originally perhaps a native of Arabia, has existed in Britain, most probably from a time not much later than the æra of its first population by human inhabitants: But, since the period of *their* first propagation in the island; until the Normans introduced into it, their modes of life, and their arts of peace and war; it has not appeared, that, the breed of horses, was cultivated or improved in Scotland, with any particular attention or success: About the æra of the establishment of the Normans in England; a new and larger race of horses, were imported into the southern kingdom; and were, within no long period of time, propagated likewise in Scotland: On an horse of this race, the full-armed knight was always mounted, for the tourneament, the single combat, or the field of general battle: The meaner and light-armed horsemen rode upon those smaller palfreys which were more common in the country, more cheaply to be purchased, and more easily sustained with food: Sect. II.

Sect. II. When Robert Bruce ſlew Roger Bohun, on the evening before the battle of Bannockburn; Bruce was mounted only on a ſmall palfrey; becauſe he then rode about, to view the relative diſpoſitions of both armies, without any intentions of combat: On the *ſeals* of the Kings and of other Scots belonging to this period; the figure of the horſe, on that ſide of the ſeal, on which its owner appears full-armed, on horſeback; ſeems uſually to repreſent an animal of a ſize and figure between thoſe of the modern *hunter*, and thoſe of our middle-ſized draught-horſe; and this was the war-horſe of the Scots, in the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century.—*Goats*, whoſe character remains always between that of wild, and that of domeſticated quadrupeds, yet more nearly allied to the former, than to the latter, were now more numerous than roes or deer, on all the wildeſt Scottiſh mountains: They had multiplied greatly in the courſe of the period immediately prior to this: The ſcantineſs and peculiarity of the vegetable fare which was ſufficient to nouriſh them; and the utility of their milk, fleſh, and hides; with the ſmallneſs of the attention requiſite in tending them; recommended theſe animals, in a particular manner, to men who were ſo inexpert in all the more complex and painful paſtoral arts, as the Scots of this Age.—*Sheep*, as well as goats, appear to have been ſo early, diffuſed very generally, over the face of the earth; that it has been impoſſible, to diſcover with certainty,

certainty, in what country, they were originally indigenous: Since the æra of the Roman invaſion, or perhaps ſome remoter time, ſheep had been among the tame animals of Scotland: Their feebleneſs and gentleneſs, rendering them, an eaſy prey, even to an unarmed ſpoiler, prevented them from multiplying, as if they had been hardier, and fiercer or wilder animals: But, the ſingular utility of their wool, as a material for the fabrication of articles of cloathing, brought them continually into higher eſtimation; and procured to them, ſtill more and more of the aſſiduous care of the ſhepherd: Many other animals afforded nouriſhing fleſh; while ſheep alone yielded wool: In the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century, flocks of ſheep, were conſiderably numerous in Scotland; although leſs ſo, perhaps, than herds of oxen, goats, or ſwine.—*Swine*, in a wild ſtate, were among the firſt brute animals that entered this iſland: The young of ſome of thoſe wild ſwine, were ſoon caught, and domeſticated: Throughout Scotland and the Scottiſh iſles, they were multiplied with great diligence: They were a favourite part of the animal ſtock fed on the lands belonging to the clergy, regular and ſecular: The foreſts of oak afforded abundance of acorns in the end of harveſt, which ſerved to fatten the ſwine for ſlaughter; Among the other foreſt laws, was a regulation fixing the conditions upon which the ſwine of the inhabi- SECT. II.

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tants who dwelled in the environs of the royal foreſts, might be admitted into them, in the proper ſeaſon, to devour the maſt*.

Superior utility of oxen and horſes, &c.

Of all theſe animals, oxen were the moſt ſerviceable to the Scots, for ſubſiſtence, in the courſe of thoſe wars, of which, the events have been related in the foregoing ſection. Retiring before invaſion, they drove their cattle, with them; the milk of the cows, was their richeſt and moſt agreeable beverage: a cow or ox was quickly ſlain, when ravenous hunger demanded a meal of fleſh: butter and cheeſe were luxuries to furniſh out a feaſt. Their cattle were hardy, like themſelves; might be driven ſuddenly, in ſpeed, and by long journies, to the mountains, without periſhing by any moderate meaſure of famine and fatigue; and were of a middle character, neither fierce and wild, nor incapable of ſubſiſting without continual feeding and protection. Mounted on their ſmall horſes, and driving their cattle before them, the Scots nearly reſembled thoſe paſtoral nations of the North of Aſia, who have, from time to time, colonized or conquered the regions of the Eaſt, Weſt, and South. When their herds of oxen failed; the goats afforded yet another reſource. After theſe, there remained nothing, except the chance

* Fordun. paſſim:—L. L. Foreſti:—Seals of Bruce and others, in Anderſon's diplomata, &c. &c.

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chance of hunting and fiſhing; for ſheep and tame ſwine could not be driven about, in the enterprizes and eſcapes of warfare.—They had *dogs* of different breeds; but, for the moſt part, ferocious and half-ſavage; as being employed only in hunting, and tearing wild animals to death. When the men of Galloway wiſhed to find the ſecret haunts of Robert Bruce, on the confines of Carrick; they took with them, dogs, which they expected both to diſcover him by the ſagacity of their ſmell, and then furiouſly to purſue, and ſeize him.—Poultry, geeſe, and ducks, as well as hawks and falcons, were, even in this period, bred and reared, with no ſmall care*.

Agriculture.

At the unfortunate æra of the death of Alexander the Third, before the commencement of the wars in defence of the national independency, *Agriculture* was more generally and ſkilfully purſued in Scotland, than it had ever been, before. For the firſt three or four harveſts, which followed, after that event, the labours of the huſbandman, were not yet greatly interrupted, or fruſtrated by hoſtile devaſtation. The eſtates of the Church were ſtill the beſt cultivated. Not only for the immediate uſe of man, but for the ſuſtenance alſo, of the tame quadrupeds, were the toils of culture employed

* Barbour, Book VII. XVII. &c.

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employed to multiply and improve the productions of the ground. Parks or folds were incloſed within low walls of turfs, or of looſe ſtones, for places of paſture and ſhelter to milk-cows, horſes, and ſheep. Meadows were divided from the open paſture-grounds; and their graſs, mowen down with the ſcythe, dried, and ſtored up in barns, or in the open air, for the uſe of winter. William Bunnock had been engaged to furniſh the garriſon of Linlithgow, with a quantity of hay; when he contrived the ſtratagem by which he made the Scots maſters of the caſtle. Meadows are commonly one among the articles enumerated in the charters of this age. For tillage, a part of every ſeparate poſſeſſion, was ſet apart, under the denomination of the *Croft*. The *Croft*; the *meadow*; and the *park*, *fold*, or *waird*; compoſed, all together, what was called the *infield*: The *outfield* conſiſted of *muirs*, *moſſes*, and *woods*. The *dung* of the cattle, was almoſt the only ſort of manure, that was commonly laid upon the *croft*. Hardly any other inſtrument, than the plough, was employed in the different operations of tillage. It ſeems to have been, in its conſtruction, nearly the ſame as the *old Scotch plough*, which ſtill remains in uſe, in ſome places. Oxen, more than horſes, were ſtill yoked to drag it; becauſe the more ſubmiſſive patience and ſluggiſhneſs of the ox, recommended him, rather than the horſe, to the ſervice of aukward,

ward, unskilful ploughmen. Yet, as horses were now numerous in the country, they began to be employed, still more and more in the different works of husbandry. The horse was chiefly used, however, to convey burthens of corn, hay, or other matters, from place to place, upon his back. The *car* without wheels, was much more commonly used, at least in rustic labour, than the wheeled *cart* and *waggon* which we now employ. Farms surrounded with some rude inclosure, and cultivated above the state of the circumjacent country, were ordinarily distinguished by the appellation of *granges*; but such *granges*, for the most part, pertained only to some garrisoned castle, or to the monks or nuns of some convent. Along the eastern coasts, as far northwards, as to the Moray-Frith; the harvest was so early; and the soil of the cultivated spots, so rich; as to admit of wheat, for the principal article of crop. The ancient records of the abbacy of Elgin, and the bishopric of Moray, make frequent mention of wheat, as the species of grain which was then chiefly cultivated in these parts. Barley was more common in other places. In others, and upon the extreme frontier of cultivation, no grain was sown, except the small grey oats, which is still the favourite grain of the Hebudian isles. Reaped, and gathered into the barns, the corn was then *threshed* out with the *flail*; an ancient Anglo-Saxon implement, which has long

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continued

Sect. II. continued in uſe, without undergoing any remarkable change of its conſtruction. The *ſtraw* ſerved for food to the cattle, for *litter* to the chambers of the great, or to be ſpread for beds to the poor; and for various other uſes. For grinding the corn into meal, there had been, by this time, a number of mills erected; ſome made to be wrought by horſes or oxen; others, to be driven by wind; but, the greater number, placed beſide running ſtreams, that they might be put in motion by the impulſe of water. The barley was almoſt all macerated into *malt*; which was afterwards, by decoction and fermentation, to afford the exhilarating beverage, *ale*. In ſeed-time, and in harveſt, all the meaner inhabitants of the land, wherever agriculture was practiſed, would, with one accord, apply themſelves, for a few days, to the labours of ſowing, or reaping. During the intermediate ſeaſons, the toils of huſbandry, were almoſt wholly intermitted. They knew not, to preſerve a field in perpetual fertility, by manures, and by a ſkilful variation of the ſpecies of crop; but continued to plough up the ſame ground, year after year, and to ſow it with grain; until its powers of nouriſhing vegetation, appeared to be, at laſt entirely exhauſted; and it ſeemed to require reſt, like a wearied animal, to renovate its ſtrength. The management of *bees*, was likewiſe an object in the rural œconomy of the Scots of this age; for, *honey*, and *mead* brewed

brewed from it, are often mentioned, as articles among their ſtores. Several fruit-bearing trees and ſhrubs, appear to have been cultivated, with increaſing diligence, among the gardens and orchards, eſpecially of the Clergy. Coleworts, and leguminous plants, were the only pot-herbs, that were commonly produced in the gardens. Although ſuch were the agricultural œconomy of thoſe parts of the country which were, at all ſubjected to cultivation; yet muſt it be confeſſed, that, in a general view of the whole kingdom; the cultivated lands would appear to be only ſo many inſulated ſpots; ſcattered amidſt univerſal bleakneſs, barrenneſs, and ſavage wildneſs; as are the Hebudian iſles in the Vergivian ſea. In the progreſs of the wars of Wallace and Bruce, the cultivation of Scotland neceſſarily became ſtill leſs and leſs: The uſual labours of ſeed-time and harveſt, were forſaken or interrupted: The growing corn was often deſtroyed by enemies ſpoiling the land; while it was, as yet green and unfit for uſe: In the general diſorder and diſtreſs, the rights of property, indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the protection of agriculture, ceaſed to be reſpected; and none were careful to ſow, what none was ſure to reap for himſelf. When Bruce and his Parliament ſet themſelves to re-eſtabliſh law and order in the kingdom which they had reſcued from under the uſurped domination of the Engliſh; they found it neceſſary to enjoin, SECT. II.

Sect. II. enjoin, that, the Scottiſh ſoldiers, when ſummoned out, to join the army, ſhould not any longer, at pleaſure, ſpoil the *granges*, and ſeize the corn and other proviſions of their fellow-ſubjects, through whoſe lands they might have occaſion to paſs*.

Cookery. The fowls, beaſts, and fiſhes, the precarious prey of the fiſher and the hunter; the milk and the fleſh of their tame quadrupeds; and the meal into which the grain, the produce of their harveſt, was ground; were prepared for food, by *culinary arts*, extremely ſimple and unfaſtidious. Fleſh was roaſted on wooden or iron ſpits; broiled on the burning coals; or boiled or ſodden in boiling water. *Salt* was manufactured, particularly along the ſouth-eaſt coaſts of Scotland; as appears by the care with which *ſalt-pans* are mentioned in charters transferring the property of lands in thoſe parts; and it was plentifully uſed, if not as an indiſpenſible article of ſeaſoning to animal food eaten freſh; yet, as a pickle, to preſerve from putrefaction, thoſe ſtores of fiſh and fleſh, which were annually provided in the end of harveſt, for the ſupply of winter and ſpring. It is even probable, that, ſalted proviſions were generally preferred, as better, and more agreeable food, than fleſh newly ſlain, and unſeaſoned. *Butter* and *cheeſe* were prepared from the milk, and equally ſeaſoned with ſalt:

* Anderſon's Diplomata, Pl. 24, 25. 43. 44:—Ayloffe's Calend. P. 126:—Ford.—Barbour:—Blind Harry *paſſim*, &c.

ſalt: Theſe articles made alſo a conſiderable part of the winter ſtores: Tithes of them, were eagerly ſought, and were obtained by the Clergy. Flour and meal appear to have been kneaded into leavened or unleavened *loaves*, which were toaſted in a heated *oven*; or ſpread out from dough, into thin *cakes*, which were expoſed to the fire, upon a *gridiron*. Dinner and ſupper were, probably, the only ſtated *meals*: Breakfaſt was neither a general, nor, even with thoſe who uſed it, more than an occaſional and haſty refreſhment, ſometimes taken, ſometimes neglected: In the ſcarcity of the neceſſaries for ſuſtenance, which frequently prevailed, during the wars of this period; many of the poor inhabitants of Scotland, were often reduced to appeaſe hunger with nothing more than a few morſels of putrid fiſh, or of horſe-fleſh, in the day. The fleſh of ſwine was often ſalted, dried, and kept in reſerve, as bacon. The Scottiſh camp on the Were; in the condition in which it was found by the Engliſh; after it had been cunningly deſerted by Randolph and Douglas; exhibited to young Edward the Third, and his ſoldiers, a curious ſpecimen of the homely fare and ſimple cookery, with which the Scots could content themſelves, when they were upon a military expedition. Their leathern bags, which had held their oaten meal; their kettles of raw hides, ſupported upon the fire, by wooden ſtakes; their wooden ſpits clumſily fitted for roaſt-

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Sect. II. ing the fleſh which they did not chuſe to boil; diſcovered a ſimplicity of cookery and of camp-equipage, which was altogether aſtoniſhing to the Engliſh and the Flemiſh ſoldiers of Edward's hoſt. Nothing was to be ſeen, of thoſe cumbrous carriages of proviſions, and that complex and ſumptuous apparatus of cookery, which, even in this period, were uſually required to accompany the marches of the French and Engliſh armies. Water, milk, ale, and wine, with little, if any, uſe of ardent ſpirits; were the liquors drunk, to quench thirſt, or to exhilarate convivial enjoyment*.

Dreſs. In this Age, the faſhions of *dreſs*, did not continually change, with a capricious fickleneſs and levity; as they were afterwards to do, in the diſtant, future progreſs of refinement, luxury, and art. The impreſſions on coins and ſeals; the rude drawings, embelliſhing *illuminated* manuſcripts; figures in carved wood or ſculptured ſtone, ornamenting tombs, cathedrals, or chapels; and ſome incidental notices in the few records in which the hiſtory of theſe times, has been preſerved; are the only authorities of any information that can be gathered, concerning the cloathing worn by the Scots, in the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century. Their garb of peace ſtill differed but little, from that of the old Anglo-

* Barbour:—Froiſſart:—Diplomata, Pl. 24, 25. 36, 37:—Blind Harry *paſſim*.

Anglo-Saxons. The feet and legs were bare, or covered only with brogues or boots, made, for the moſt part, of raw, undreſſed, hairy ſkins. In the Scottiſh camp at Were, the Engliſh found ten thouſand pairs of brogues made out of raw hides, and rudely ſtitched with thongs; the hairy ſide of the hide being turned inwards in the brogue. On his ſeal, of which the impreſſion appears upon his written deeds; Robert Bruce is repreſented ſitting on his throne, with his feet bare. As yet, that uſeful ſubdiviſion of labour, was almoſt, or altogether unknown among the Scots; which was, afterwards, to ſeparate from the employments of agriculture, paſturage, and war; the meaner and ſubordinate works of weaving cloth, tanning leather, ſewing woollen or linen garments, and making ſhoes; and which was to diſtribute theſe taſks, as ſo many diſtinct ſpecies of occupation, among different claſſes of artiſans. In every family, the women ſpun wool into yarn; coloured the yarn, when an artificial colour was wanted, by tinging it with the decoction of moſſes or other plants; by the occaſional aid of ſome of the men, wove it into cloth; *waulked* this cloth, which was at firſt thin, to a ſufficient degree of thickneſs, by long-continued rubbing between the hands; and then, at laſt, cut and ſewed it into the garments for which it was intended. A dirty white, or black; either of them, the native colour of the wool; or

Sect. II. a grey produced by the commixture of wools of theſe two natural hues; were the common colours of the raiment worn by the meaner Scots, in this period. *Green* was the favourite colour of perſons of higher rank. Young Selby, ſon to the Engliſh Conſtable of the caſtle of Dundee, is related, by Henry the blind minſtrel; to have provoked William Wallace, by telling him, in ſcorn, that it would better become ſuch a pitiful Scot, to be clad in *ruſſet-grey*, than in *goodly green*. *Shirts* or other under-garments of linen, do not appear to have been, as yet, worn among the Scots. The impreſſions of their ſeals, and the figures upon their coins, repreſent them; with the feet often bare; the hair ſhort, and in ſome inſtances, curled; a woollen garment next to the ſkin, which, in faſhion, ſeems nearly to reſemble one of our modern ſhirts or night-gowns; and above this inner garment, a robe, ſimilar to the *plaid*, of which the uſe has not yet been wholly diſcontinued, among the Scots. A buckle or *broach* attaches one end of the *plaid*, which is flung over the ſhoulder, to the other which, after paſſing acroſs the back, is gathered up under the oppoſite arm, and raiſed to the point of junction, acroſs the breaſt: A belt or *ſaſh* confines the interior garment, at the middle. Under armour, as it ſhould ſeem, only the *coat*, or interior woollen garment could be worn. The dreſs of the women, did not yet materially differ, in its faſhion, from that of the men. Some richer and more gorgeous

ſtuffs

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ſtuffs might indeed be imported, for the uſe of ladies of the higheſt rank; and it was natural, that they ſhould wear their hair long, rather than ſhort; ſince they had not occaſion, like the men, to cut the hair ſhort, in order to avoid inconvenience from it, in combat. The dreſs of the Clergy, being regulated by the laws of the church, was little ſubject to changes of faſhion; but, remained the ſame, *in this period*, as in that which immediately preceded it*.

Architecture.

DURING that period of the progreſs of ſocial life in Scotland, of which the hiſtory is, in this Book, related; Architecture, military, civil, or eccleſiaſtical, was little practiſed or improved among the Scots. Thoſe few forts which the Engliſh erected here and there in Scotland, were no adequate compenſation to the land, for the many edifices of all ſorts, which they furiouſly demoliſhed. Even thoſe were, with the other ſtrong caſtles in the kingdom, thrown down, and razed to the foundation by Robert Bruce, when he had wreſted them, one by one, out of the hands of the Engliſh. Churches, monaſteries, towns, hamlets, and cottages were, every where, reduced to ruins, in the courſe of thoſe long and bloody wars by which the Scots maintained their national independency

* Blind Harry's Life of Wallace, Book I. Moriſon's Edition:—Impreſſions of Seals in the Diplomata:—Fordun.—Rymer's Fœdera:—Barbour, &c.

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pendency. The terrours of ſuperſtition, although powerful above every thing elſe, except military force, could not always protect the buildings conſecrated to religion. Whatever ſtructures had been erected by the piety and mitigated barbariſm of former times, if not deſtroyed, were, however, in many inſtances, ſuffered to fall into decay.

Yet, even in theſe times, ſome dignitaries in the Church, and others, zealouſly repaired a number of the ruinous *eccleſiaſtical buildings*, and reared various new ones. William Lamberton, the patriotic Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, in the earlier part of his epiſcopal incumbency, repaired, at a great expence, the ſeveral buildings of the monaſtery of St Andrew's. After he had been, for eighteen years, Biſhop of this See, he turned his care to the ſtate of the buildings which belonged to the biſhopric; and erected, for the reſidence of the Biſhop, or of inferior Clergymen within his dioceſe, or dependent upon him; at St Andrew's, a *fortalice*, or ſtrong turreted palace; at Inchmurdoch, Monimeal, Dairſy, Torry, Muckarty, Kettins, Monymuſk, Linton, Laſſwade, and Stow, meaner, yet decent and commodious dwellings. The ſame good Biſhop ornamented the cathedral church of St Andrew's, with a variety of curious decorations in carved wood; for, the art of *carving in wood*, was one of thoſe arts which were practiſed, in this Age, with conſiderable artifice and delicacy

delicacy of execution, although without grace or elegance of design. Other similar works were executed by other churchmen. *Vaults* and *funeral-monuments* were formed, from time to time, to protect, and to distinguish, the ashes of the dead. In the course of this period, the architecture of all Europe began to become more elaborate, *quaint*, and artificial in its *ornaments*; and this character did not fail to be communicated to the few edifices which were now built or repaired, in Scotland. Hewn stones were imported chiefly from *Caen* in Normandy. Bricks, of which the use and the manufacture were now common in England, might be also baken and burnt by the Scots, or imported by them, from their neighbours. The red sand-stone, and the granite, which the strata of the Scottish rocks, afford, in great abundance for building, began now to be hewn for this use. Not only at Lochmaben, but also at *Annan*, the *Bruces* possessed a strong *castle*. By an inscription upon a stone lately found among the ruins of the castle of Annan; it appears, that this castle was either rebuilt, or partially repaired in the last year of the thirteenth century. Some part of its walls, still stands; and this is of vast thickness; and composed, partly of red sand-stones which appear to have been rudely polished; in part of smaller, unpolished stones, chiefly schistous; while the mass is agglomerated by a cement of shell-lime and sand, which SECT. II.

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which has been hardened by time, to the conſiſtency of a rock. For the *cottages* of the peaſants, ſmall wood, turfs, ſtraw, clay, and heath, were ſtill the ordinary materials; and theſe articles, and this deſtination of them, were commonly mentioned with great care, as being either granted or reſerved, in every written deed, recording the tranſference of property in land. The *barns* and *mills* were not, in general, of more durable materials, or ſtronger architecture, than the cottages of the peaſantry. The few *bridges*, already exiſting, or which were built or repaired within this period, were of exceedingly ſtrong maſon-work; having pointed, elliptical arches; and riſing with a convexity of the upper ſuperficies, which made the paſſage along the bridge, to reſemble the aſcent and deſcent over a hillock. In this period; and in conſequence partly of the demolition of ſo many of the larger caſtles; partly by the Engliſh, or after their example; were a number of *fortalices*, *peels*, or ſingle towers, built, in different parts, throughout Scotland. The *peels* of Lochmaben, Linlithgow, Gargunnock, are named, with others, in the records of the hiſtory of theſe times. *Bruce*, after he had reconquered the country, could not refuſe; even to thoſe of his nobles, whom he would not allow to fortify themſelves againſt him, in ſtrong caſtles; at leaſt permiſſion to erect towers for

the accommodation and protection of their families. In the ſtate of poverty to which it was reduced by long wars, Scotland could not, in the latter part of Robert Bruce's reign, afford to its inhabitants, means for the conſtruction of edifices ſo extenſive and ſtrong, as the old Norman caſtles. *Towns* were uſually fortified by a wall and a ditch, and defended by a caſtle: Within, the ſtreets were irregular; and the houſes, mean, and without uniformity of dimenſions, aſpect, or ſtructure. Whether a caſtle or a cottage, every dwelling was, on the inſide, miſerably dark, dirty, and incommodious: The walls remained bare, without decoration or covering: The roof was often without a ceiling: The floors were commonly covered deep with filth and naſtineſs of all ſorts: The furniture never conſiſted of more than a ſmall number of the moſt neceſſary utenſils and means of domeſtic accommodation; and thoſe of the rudeſt kind*. SECT. II.

THE nation, ſo far as they were accounted *Freemen*, were ſtill, only an *army*, diſtributed over the country, for *their* ſupport, and for *its* fortification and defence. As the different degrees of their Military Arts.

* Fordun. L. VI. C. 44:—Anderſon Diplomata Scotiæ, Pl. 24, 25:—Ayloffe's Calendar of Ancient Charters, P. 112. 146:—Barbour and Blind Harry paſſim:—Statiſtical account of the Pariſh of Annan, &c. &c.

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respective wealth, might afford; they were required to hold themselves in continual readiness to march out to battle, accoutred, respectively, in *light*, or in complete, *heavy* armour. He who had personal property, equal to the value of one cow, was enjoined by a law enacted in the thirteenth year of the reign of Robert Bruce, to provide himself with a bow, and a quiver containing twenty-four arrows, or else with a long wooden spear, pointed with brass or iron; and to accustom himself to the expert exercise of these arms. Those whose possessions were equivalent to ten pounds in money, were, by the same law, required to arm themselves, with complete, *defensive* armour for the head, the neck, the arms, the trunk of the body, and the hands; and with a sword and a spear, as their weapons for *offence*. The Barons, and the Sheriffs of the counties, were appointed to enforce compliance with this statute. Confiscation of all their property, was the punishment, to be inflicted on the disobedient*.

Artillery for Sieges.

For sieges, the Scots of this age, appear to have had few of those bulky and formidable machines which the English employed in battering the Scottish towns and castles. Not that the uses of the instruments; for the most part, the same as those of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*; which were applied, in this period by the English, and the other

* *Statua Roberti I.* published in Collection of *Regiam Majestatem.*

other nations of Europe; could poſſibly be unknown to the Scots who fought under the banners of Balliol, Wallace, and Bruce. But, the Scots were in a condition, ſo miſerable and deſtitute, that they could not provide themſelves with military engines, ſo expenſive, and difficult of conſtruction. Of theſe engines, the moſt remarkable appear to have been, the *ſow*, the *mangonel*, the *tribock*, with ſome few others; intended, all, for the purpoſes, of ſapping the walls of the place beſieged, by cloſe aſſault; of battering theſe walls, and annoying their defenders with ſtones, darts, or arrows hurled from a diſtance; and to cover the aſſailants, while they approached, to undermine, or ſcale, the walls. Stratagem and ſurprize; not the apparatus and the labour of regular aſſault; were, as we have ſeen, the means by which the Scots recovered their own towns and caſtles out of the hands of the Engliſh. In their attempts upon towns or caſtles within the Engliſh territories, they were very rarely ſucceſsful. Scaling ladders were almoſt the only inſtruments uſeful at ſieges alone, which the Scots were ordinarily wont to employ*. Sect. II.

In the courſe of their long wars in defence of their national independence, the Scots of this period, however, became much more expert in the military art, and more illuſtrious in arms, than any generation of their anceſtors, had ever been. They learned Improvement of the Scots in the arts of war.

*Watſii Gloſſarium ad Matth. Paris:—Barbour:—Ford. *paſſim.*

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learned to reſtrain that raſh and ſavage impetuoſity, which had, before, continually hurried the Scottiſh armies to fight in diſorder, and at a diſadvantage. Their valour became cool, ſteady, artful. Their bowmen, their ſpearmen, their cavalry; but eſpecially their diſtinguiſhed warriours, completely armed, and fighting, ſingly, either on foot, or on horſeback; were perhaps the beſt ſoldiers in Europe. In the ſpoils of every fortunate battle, and amongſt the military ſtores of every caſtle that they recovered, they ſtill found new ſupplies of arms, by which they were enabled to accoutre themſelves, continually better and better, as the war advanced. The Flemings, and the French, too; and even the Engliſh themſelves, at the time when a great part of this nation, were in rebellion againſt Edward the Second; appear to have furniſhed arms, together with other ſupplies to the Scots, in the way of traffic, during the regency of Wallace, and the reign of Bruce. Bows and ſpears, the Scots could make for themſelves: They had ſmiths, who, although not exceedingly ſkilful or expert in their art, could, however, ſharpen, or otherwiſe repair armour that was blunted or ſhattered: Commerce and the chance of battle, ſupplied what elſe was wanted. Man's improvement in any art, is ever in proportion to his opportunities of exerciſe in it, and to the force of the neceſſity or deſire, urging him to acquire it. No wonder, then, that the Scots;

Scots; contending in war, so long and so earnestly; opposing foes so valiant, so completely armed, and so well disciplined; having no resources, but either, on the one hand victory, or on the other, servitude or death; should have advanced, in these circumstances, from the irregular warfare of savages, to the most skilful and heroic practice of the military art: No wonder, that Wallace, Robert and Edward Bruce, Douglas, Randolph, Stewart, should have become the most famous Knights in Christendom: The Scottish Parliament had sufficient reason to reflect; as they did, when they addressed their eloquent letter of remonstrance to the Pope; with manly confidence and exultation; that, their fathers who had yielded to Edward the First; were in comparison with the sons who triumphed over Edward the Second; men not less inexpert in war, than unwise in counsel. Sect II.

Encampments.

It is remarkable, however, that, although war was so much the business and the passion of the whole Scottish nation; although almost every corner of the kingdom, was now the scene of some battle, inroad, or skirmish; yet, there remain no *fortified camps* of either the Scots of this period, or of their invaders, which might be compared with the regular and fortified encampments of the Romans, Anglo-Saxons, or Danes. Every district still presents various camps, which are known, upon evidence

Sect. II. evidence ſufficiently ſatisfactory, to have been formed, and originally occupied by one or another of theſe three nations laſt mentioned: But, the camps of the later poſſeſſors of this iſle, muſt have been, as it ſhould ſeem, more irregularly occupied, and more ſlightly intrenched; ſince they have been, every where, effaced, almoſt as entirely, as if they had never been. The country was now opened up, and was ſo much known to both the Scots and the Engliſh, that they needed not to fortify themſelves in their places of encampment, with the ſame anxious fear of circumvention and ſurprize, which were naturally felt by ſtranger invaders. Having now numbers of towns and caſtles, the Scots and Engliſh felt, on this account, the leſs neceſſity for forming ſuch temporary fortifications, as thoſe of the camps of the Romans and the Norſe-men. It may be, too, that the intrenchments of the Roman and Daniſh camps, have reſiſted the dilapidations of time, only becauſe the country was not occupied by a numerous population, ſubdivided, and cultivated, until after theſe intrenchments had been overgrown by vegetation, and conſolidated by the ſlow and ſilent operation of nature: While the works of the Engliſh and Scottiſh camps, being thrown up at times much later, may have been levelled by accidents ariſing from occupancy and cultivation, within a few years, after they were evacuated by the armies which formed them. The field

field of Bannockburn exhibits now no conſpicuous veſtiges of intrenchments; nor even of thoſe pits which were dug by the Scots, to enſnare the Engliſh cavalry: Nothing now remains to ſhew, that it was once the ſcene of an engagement deciſive of the fate of Scotland, except that *ſtone* in which the royal ſtandard is, with ſome ſhow of probability, ſaid to have been fixed, during the battle. Every other ſcene of the ſieges and battles of this martial period, is almoſt equally denuded of every memorial or relic of encampment or combat. Sect. II.

Perhaps, the wars in which the Scots were engaged, and the general train of their national tranſactions during this period, had ſome tendency to improve their dexterity and ſkill in the practice of maritime affairs. Their voyages to Norway, in order to negotiate with King Eric, and to bring home their young queen, could not have been performed with tolerable ſafety; if they had not been accuſtomed to ſail in veſſels fitted at once with oars and ſails; and to guide their path on the deep, by the obſervation of the ſtars. With France or Flanders, they could not have had that uſeful intercourſe which they appear to have carried on, during theſe times, if they had not been ſufficiently acquainted with the navigation, at leſt of the German ocean. The expeditions againſt the people of the iſle of *Man*, and into Ireland, could not have Navigation.

Sect. II. have been accompliſhed, without a great number of veſſels, and conſiderable, naval dexterity and ſkill. Nor could the Hebudæ have been inhabited, or retained in ſubjection to Scotland, without a continual intercourſe by ſea, which could not be carried on, without many veſſels, and inceſſant navigation. The long wanderings of Robert Bruce, among theſe iſles, in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the year, aſſuredly imply, ſince they were performed with ſafety; that the Hebudians were, even then, as ſkilful and hardy mariners, as they are, now, in the end of the eighteenth century, when the ſame perilous and various navigation could ſcarcely be performed, without certain ſhipwreck. Even in thoſe early times, the fiſhing of their rivers and ſea-coaſts, appears to have been ſo diligently proſecuted by the Scots; that this, alone, would be ſufficient to make a conſiderable proportion among them, ſeamen; and to occaſion the keeping up of a great multitude, at leſt of ſmall boats around all Scotland, and amongſt its dependent iſlets. *Curraghs* of a ſort of wicker-work covered with hides; veſſels ſmaller, although not frailer than theſe, and framed out of the hollowed trunks of trees; ſhips made of joined planks, and open, although of no inconſiderable bulk and capacity; and other ſhips, yet larger than theſe laſt, and covered with decks; were all the different ſpecies of veſſels for ſailing, at this time known to the Scots. Theſe they paddled or rowed with oars; or expoſed

ſed to be carried down the currents of rivers; or fitted with ſails, that they might be driven before the wind. Shipwrecks had been, already, ſo frequent on the Scottiſh coaſts; that, in grants of lands on the ſea-ſhore, the wreck of cargoes loſt, was either granted or reſerved, with ſcrupulous care, as an object of conſiderable value. It was from the Hebudian iſles chiefly, that Bruce obtained the veſſels of the fleets, with which he invaded Ireland, and the iſle of Man. In a charter granted by Bruce, a principal condition on the part of the perſon in whoſe favour this deed was executed, is, the furniſhing of a ſhip with *forty oars*, for forty days yearly, for the royal ſervice. From an epiſtle addreſſed by Edward the Second of England, to the Earl of Flanders, it appears, that ſome of the adherents of Bruce, who had fled from Scotland, in the ſeaſon of the loweſt extremity of his fortunes; having retired to Flanders; had there equipped ſome armed veſſels, with which they, from time to time, ſcoured the German ocean, infeſted the Engliſh coaſts, and ſeized the ſupplies of arms, forces, and proviſions which were ſent, by ſea, from England, againſt the Scots. From all theſe facts we may fairly conclude the Scottiſh nation to have been, at this time, in a conſiderable degree, a ſeafaring people; the Hebudians to have been more entirely ſo, than the reſt of the Scots; and the whole nation to have neceſſarily more ſtrongly urged to practice in naval affairs, than

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they ever were before; not diverted from them; by their long contention with the Engliſh*.

Commerce.

Their peaceful labours being interrupted by war; and their country ſpoiled and laid waſte: the inhabitants of Scotland could not in this period, furniſh many articles, either of *raw produce*, or of

Exports.

manufacture, for *commercial exportation*. Even the wonted remittances of money and other goods to the Papal Court, were ſtrictly prohibited by a law of Robert Bruce, on account of the general poverty and diſtreſs, to which the nation had been reduced by long war. *Wool* was, indeed, almoſt the only article of value, which the Scots could ſpare, while their neighbours wanted it. Berwick was the ſea-port-town, from which the wool of Scotland was uſually exported, whether into England, to Flanders, or to France. It ſeems probable, that the Scots had been, about this time, accuſtomed to export quantities of *ſalmons*, and perhaps alſo of *herrings*, dried, or ſalted in barrels. Edward the Second, before coming upon one of his expeditions againſt the Scots, iſſued an order to one of his officers in the Scottiſh territories, to provide three thouſand ſalmons from the Scottiſh rivers, for the uſe of the army which the King was about to lead into Scotland†.

The

* Anderſon's Diplomata, Pl. 24, 25. 7. 48:—Rymer's Fœdera III. 230. 238:—Barbour:—Fordun.—Blind Harry, &c.

† Fœdera III. 95:—Statuta Roberti I. &c.

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THE IMPORTS which the Scots now received, appear to have been furniſhed by their neighbours of England, and occaſionally from Flanders, France, or Italy. *Corn* was imported into Scotland, by Engliſh merchants, even in times of actual warfare between the two nations; as appears from letters and proclamations, by which Edward the Second of England, endeavoured to prohibit this illegal intercourſe of his ſubjects with his enemies. From their prœdatory inroads into England, during theſe wars, the Scots uſually brought home various ſpoils of cattle, corn, pulſe, raiment, and armour. Invading a country naturally poor and barren, and now waſted almoſt to utter deſolation by the long ravages of war; the Engliſh, in all their military expeditions into Scotland, brought with them large ſtores of arms and proviſions; which were partly conſumed by themſelves, but commonly fell, in part, into the hands of the Scots. For the uſe of one of his expeditions againſt the Scots, Edward the Second enjoined the citizens of London, to provide to him, twenty tons of honey; an hundred tons of wine; five hundred pounds weight of unſpun hemp; an equal quantity of hemp-yarn; an hundred and ſixty engines for the diſcharge of miſſile weapons, at ſieges; with many thouſands of the weapons which thoſe propelling engines were employed to diſcharge againſt the foe. When this ſame Prince, as yet only Prince of Wales, wintered,

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wintered, at Perth, in the year one thouſand three hundred and three; his troops were ſo abundantly ſupplied with *wine*, that a gallon of good French wine was commonly ſold there, for fourpence of the Scottiſh money of that time. It was chiefly wine of Gaſcony and Burgundy, which the Engliſh imported into England, and by conſequence, likewiſe into Scotland. In times of ſcarcity, neither Scotland nor England produced grain ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of the inhabitants: And corn was then anxiouſly imported from Italy, France, Germany, and the countries adjacent to the Baltic ſea. In the year one thouſand three hundred and twenty-one, *Genoeſe* merchants brought into Britain, from Italy, conſiderable quantities of oil, honey, and grain. Neither the native horſes of Scotland, nor thoſe of England, were of that ſize, ſhape, and vigour, which were the moſt highly valued in the war-horſe: And the Engliſh, while they occaſionally furniſhed the Scots with *war-horſes*, were, themſelves, obliged to import others, from time to time, out of *Lombardy* and *Spain*. The merchants of *Genoa* and of *Flanders* furniſhed to the Scots, their ſureſt ſupplies of arms and proviſions, through all their difficulties, and wars of this period. To purchaſe theſe ſupplies, it is probable, that the Scots ſtripped themſelves of all their gold and ſilver, and of every exchangeable article, of value, and not of primary utility, which they poſſeſſed. The

pearls

pearls of their rivers, and their wool, hides, and ſalted fiſh, would be very inſufficient to pay for all the imports which their neceſſities demanded. Edward laboured, in vain, to hinder the Flemings and the Genoeſe from carrying on any traffic with the Scots, while they ſhould continue to reſiſt his uſurpation: The ſpirit of commerce knows how to elude the threats and reſtraints of deſpotic power: The Earl of Flanders anſwered to Edward's warm remonſtrances, that his ſea-ports were free to the merchants and ſailors of all nations: The citizens of Genoa, and of ſome of the Flandrian free towns, pretended to comply with Edward's requeſts, and to refuſe all future commercial intercourſe with the Scots; but do not appear to have denounced any ſevere penalties againſt any from among themſelves who might ſtill find it profitable to trade to Scotland*. Sect. II.

General Commerce of Europe.

In this Age, the merchants of Germany and Italy, engroſſed the traffic of almoſt all Europe. While Europe had ſunk into poverty and barbariſm; civility, and its attendants, opulence and induſtry, ſtill fondly lingered in the capital of the

* Ayloffe's Calendar of Ancient Charters, P. 128:—Rymer's Fœdera, II. 1052:—III. 11, 12. 16. 104. 124. 215. 233. 386, 387. 394. 402, 403, 404. 565. 647. 760. 766. 770. 879. 894:—Fordun. XII. 3:—Blind Harry *paſſim*:—Barbour, *paſſim*.

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the Lower Greek Empire, and here and there, around the coasts of the Mediterranean sea. By intercourse with the Greeks of Constantinople; by the natural advantages of their own local situation, encouraging them to industry and commerce; by the necessary effects of the Papal establishment, which drained the wealth of the world into Italy and Rome: The Italian states and free towns, seated contiguous to the Adriatic, became commercial, industrious, and opulent; while the Greek Empire hastened to final ruin; and before the free mercantile towns on the more northern coasts of Europe, had arisen to any considerable wealth or distinction. The Moors of Spain, for a time, divided with the Italians, the commerce with the East. But, while these last, gradually declined before the prevailing valour of the Spanish Christians; the navigation, and the transference of money and other wealth, demanded by the *Crusades*; gave a new impulse to the trade of Italy. Of all that Europe wasted in pursuit of conquests in the Holy Land, the only portion which was not wholly lost, appears to have been gained by the Italians. They became the only great merchants and bankers of Europe. They spread themselves through all its kingdoms and states, in the prosecution of their traffic. All remittances of money, from one country to another, were commonly made through their hands; for the practice of *exchange*, was already

Italian States.

Bills of Exchange.

ready well understood in Europe; and kings and states were accustomed to forbid the transference of money out of their respective dominions, otherwise than by *bills of exchange*. The Genoese especially, at one time, nearly monopolized the *carrying trade* among the middle and southern European nations. The revenues of Edward the Second, were, for a time, farmed, throughout all his dominions in France, England, and Scotland, by the FRISCOBALDI, a company of merchants belonging to Florence. Some misunderstanding having arisen between these men and Edward; they abruptly deserted his service, and stole privately out of his dominions, without having obtained his approbation and discharge of their accounts. His anger and revenge pursued them to Italy, and to the Papal Court; where one of the partners, was, at Edward's request, seized and cast into confinement. But, they had not, as it should seem, greatly injured or defrauded the English King; for, he was easily induced to forgive them, and to declare, that he wished not the prisoner to undergo any corporal punishment. The BARDI were another company of Italian merchants, employed in the receipt and disbursement of Edward's revenues, during some part of the time, while he was at war with the Scots*.

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The *Friscobaldi.*

The *Bardi.*

EVEN

* Verri, *passim*:—Muratori:—Rymer's Fœdera II. 1042. III. 12. 104. 108. 362. 565. 569. 605. 647. 894, &c. &c.

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Trade of France, Flanders, and Germany.

Even before this time, however, the inhabitants of the ſea-port-towns of France, Flanders, and Germany, had begun to ſhare the trade of Europe, with the Italians. The Flemings performed, in reſpect to the northern countries, as much as was done by the Italian traders, in regard to the middle, and the ſouthern kingdoms. With Britain, and eſpecially with Scotland, they began to carry on a greater traffic, than the merchants of perhaps any other nation. When the Daniſh and Norwegian pirates ceaſed from their ravages; the Flemiſh and German merchants had begun to navigate theſe ſeas, with views of peaceful commerce. The Engliſh and the Scots poſſeſſed not even the excluſive carrying traffic of their own raw commodities. The mercantile navigators of Portugal, were not unknown in theſe northern ſeas; although their trade were confined chiefly to the coaſts of the Mediterranean. Italy was ſtill the principal ſeat of all manufactures for merchandize.—And ſuch ſeems to have been, about this time, the general ſtate of commerce and induſtry in the maritime countries of Europe*.

Staple towns.

Towns of *ſtaple*, markets, fairs, and the meetings of the people upon the holidays of the Church, afforded the neceſſary opportunities for the tranſactions of commerce. The *towns of ſtaple*, were thoſe towns to which; by the permiſſion of the

 ſovereigns,

* Fœdera II. 1052. III. 70. 108. 215. 386-7. 402-3-4. 760. 770.

ſovereigns, within whoſe dominions the towns reſpectively ſtood; and by agreement among the merchants themſelves; the merchants of different nations were accuſtomed to reſort for the ſale and the purchaſe of certain, known commodities. One town was the *ſtaple** for wool; another, for wines. It was thus known among the merchants of Europe, where each particular article of merchandize was to be bought or ſold; and the *ſtaple* town for any commodity, was, of conſequence, frequented by all who wiſhed to traffic in that commodity. The Kings of Europe, contended, who ſhould moſt ſucceſsfully allure the merchants to fix the principal *ſtaple* of their trade within his dominions: For, *taxes of cuſtom* were always levied, for the uſe of the ſovereign of a *ſtaple*-town, upon all the goods brought into it: And the free merchants were wont, themſelves, to fix their own place of *ſtaple*, wherever they could the moſt conveniently meet, and could obtain the moſt ſecure protection, for the lighteſt expence of taxation. Berwick appears to have been, about this time, the ordinary *ſtaple*-town for the ſale of the wool, and other exports of Scotland. When the Scots and the Engliſh were mutually at peace; the former were ſometimes permitted to carry their wool, for ſale, to the ſame *ſtaple*-town within the French dominions of the Engliſh Kings, which was frequented by the latter. The ſtate of the mercantile intercourſe of the Scots

* *Staple*, by corruption perhaps from *ſtabile* emporium.

Sect. II. with foreign nations, was, in this period, conſiderably influenced by the arrangements of the merchants and the ſovereigns on whom they depended, concerning the *ſtaple*-towns. *Markets* were ſtill almoſt excluſively confined in Scotland, to the royal or baronial burgh; were protected by the rulers of the burgh; and afforded, by taxes levied upon the ſales made in them, a conſtant revenue to thoſe, under whoſe immediate authority they were held. *Fairs*, were originally pious aſſemblies of the people, on holidays of the Church; but had gradually become periods of traffic and riotous feſtivity; and were ſtill celebrated under the authority of the Clergy, to whom they afforded a ſource of income, far from inconſiderable. Beſide theſe, almoſt every religious holiday was more or leſs profaned to the purpoſes of traffic. At the *ſtaple*-towns, the affairs of foreign trade, were tranſacted: The *markets* ſerved, more particularly, for the ordinary buying, ſelling, and barter of commodities, which were continually neceſſary among the inhabitants of the country: At the *fairs*, the commodities imported, were diſtributed through the land; and thoſe things which could be ſpared for exportation, were, in return, collected for this uſe. The ſame circumſtances which held the Scots, during this period, involved in conſtant wars; neceſſarily interrupted, in a great degree, that increaſe of their wealth, that excitement of their induſtry, that civilization of their manners; which

Markets.

Fairs.

which must otherwise have been produced by the transactions, and the intercourse of foreign and domestic trade*. Sect. II.

Mankind have rarely existed together in society, in a state of such rude simplicity, as to want the use of *measures* to enable them to distinguish the relative quantities of the surfaces of material bodies; or of *weights* by which they might ascertain the comparative gravities of different pieces of matter. Without *weights* and *measures*, even the imperfect commerce of general barter, could not be long carried on. In all ages of the world, and among almost all nations, there have been certain *weights* and *measures* employed; which seem to have been generally borrowed from those gravities, those extents of surface, and those capacities of hollow vessels, which occurred the most constantly to familiar observation. From the Greeks and the Romans, do the barbarian ancestors of the inhabitants of modern Europe, appear to have derived those standards of *weight* and *measure*, which, with some combinations, subdivisions, and other varieties, we still continue to employ. And, the length of the foot; the breadth of the thumb; the span of the hand; the length from the elbow, to the tip of the middle finger; that from the peak of the shoulder, to the same extremity of the hand; the

Weights and Measures.

Natural standards of superficial measure:

* L. L. Burgorum:—Ayloffe's Calendar, P. 143:—Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. III. 104:—Barbour:—Fordun:—Blind Harry:—Statuta Roberti I. &c.

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the expanſe of the out-ſtretched arms; the ſtride of the legs, in walking; all, *meaſures* of length and diſtance, continually before the eyes; have been naturally aſſumed, and are ſtill applied as the moſt convenient ſubdiviſions of lineal ſurface; under the appellations of *foot*, *inch*, *ſpan*, *cubit*, *ell*, *fathom*, *pace*. The minuter meaſures of lineal ſurface, are but ſubdiviſions; the ampler, combinations; of theſe primary ones. Meaſures of *ſolid* or *liquid contents*; ſuch as the *pint*, the *quart*, the *gallon*, the *buſhel*; appear to have had their origin in the forms and capacities of the veſſels in common uſe among the people, by whom theſe diſtinctions of cubic meaſure, were firſt adopted. A *grain* of corn; a *ſtone* picked up from among thoſe which were the moſt common in the field; that *maſs* which the human arm could, not by a ſlight, and yet without a ſtrained exertion, raiſe from the ground; theſe were probably ſome of the firſt natural means employed for the diſcrimination of *weights*; from which, by combination, by ſubdiviſion, by imitation; by a thouſand various ways, accidental or artificial; almoſt all the other known denominations of weight, have been gradually derived. Scarcely had the Barbarian conquerors of the *Roman Empire* learned the familiar uſe of the Roman weights and meaſures, at the time when they accompliſhed their own eſtabliſhment upon *its* ruins. But, the ancient inhabitants were not

Of cubic meaſure:

Of weight.

every

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every where exterminated: The eaſtern empire ſurvived the fall of the weſtern, until after that thick darkneſs of ignorance and barbariſm, which for a while hovered over the kingdoms of Europe, had begun to be diſpelled: The commerce of the ſouthern countries of Europe, among themſelves, and to the eaſtern coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea, was never wholly interrupted: The Clergy, amidſt the overthrow and fall of the Roman Empire, were enabled to preſerve their poſſeſſions, privileges, and modes of life, in a great meaſure, unviolated. By all theſe means co-operating, the Roman and Grecian *weights* and *meaſures*, were, with ſome variety of modifications, retained in the commerce of the modern Europeans. They were, however, diverſified by the influence of circumſtances peculiar, reſpectively, to each commercial nation; and this, in regard as well to the magnitude of the natural and ſtandard weights and meaſures, as in the various combinations and ſubdiviſions of theſe ſtandards. They were introduced by the commercial nations into the leſs induſtrious and more barbarous countries, to which theſe traded. As the Italians, the French, or the Flemings, were the people who traded chiefly into this or that country; the weights and meaſures of one or another of thoſe mercantile nations, became, here or there prevalent. Commodities imported into any country, at the firſt, by one or another commercial people, uſually continued to be, ever after, weighed out,

Origin of the weights and meaſures of modern Europe.

and

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and diſtributed by thoſe diviſions of weight which the merchants who firſt imported them had employed.

In Britain, the French and Flemiſh weights obtained the moſt general reception. The Sterling weight was, about this period, the ſtandard of weight, both in England and Scotland, at leſt for almoſt all the more valuable ſuſtances which were weighed in commerce. By the principle and combinations of this ſtandard of weight; thirty-two ſmooth, unbearded *grains* of wheat, compoſed what was called one *pennyweight*; twenty *pennyweights* made one *ounce*; twelve ounces, one *pound*; eight pounds, one *gallon*; eight gallons, one *buſhel*; eight buſhels one *quarter*; four quarters, one *ton*. Of the origin of the name of this ſpecies of weights, no very probable account can be given. Sterling ſeems to have been, from the firſt, a denomination, not of *coin*, but ſimply of *weight*: and the leſt abſurd of the opinions concerning it, is undeniably that which repreſents it, as having been aſſumed to indicate the *eaſtern* local ſituation of the people from whom the weight had been borrowed. For weighing groſſer commodities, ſuch as ſalt and wool, the *Trone* weight, already known in Scotland, ſeems to have been now the moſt commonly uſed. In meaſuring the *contents of veſſels*, the *gallon* of *wine*, conſidered firſt as a *weight*, was taken alſo as a *meaſure*; and from this principle, other

British weights

Sterling.

measures, whether of *dry* or *liquid* contents, were deduced with a due reſpect to correſpondent *weight*. We have had occaſion to find *quarts*, *gallons*, and *tons* of wine mentioned, in the progreſs of the hiſtory of the preſent period. Wine and ale were almoſt the only liquids that were carefully diſtributed out by meaſure. Grain and flour or meal, whether diſtributed by weight or by meaſure, were now more commonly divided according to the proportions of the *Trone*, than by thoſe of the genuine *Sterling* ſtandard. The *Trone ſtone*-weight was nearly equal to half the *Sterling* buſhel; the *peck* of the former, to the buſhel of the latter; the *Trone boll* of eight pecks, to the Sterling quarter; the *Trone chaldron* of eight bolls, to two Sterling tons. The *Sterling* appears to have been the moſt ancient weight known in theſe countries; but by the influence of the Flemings upon every thing connected with trade, in Scotland, the *Trone* weight had now begun to be preferred here; while the old Sterling proportions were ſtill retained in England*.

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Trone.

The *ſquare*, or ſimply *longitudinal* meaſures now applied, among the Scots, to the menſuration of the ſurface of the ground, were, in the chief inſtances,

Scottiſh meaſures of ſuperficies.

* Regiam Majeſtatem, in variis locis:—Raſtell's Collection of the Engliſh Statutes, under the article *weights and meaſures*:—Minſhew, Watts, and Skene, under the word *Sterling*:—Anderſon's Diplomata, Pl. 24. 25:—Fœdera III. 16. &c. &c.

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ſtances, inaccurately the ſame as thoſe which had been employed by the ancient Romans. The *mile* was a thouſand paces; but theſe, for the moſt part, only gueſſed at; rarely or never aſcertained by actual meaſurement. The *rood* conſiſted of eighteen ſquare feet; the *acre*, of four roods. Lands were alſo divided or eſtimated by more careleſs and indiſtinct meaſurement and computation; diſtributing them into *plough-gangs*, *merk-lands*, *pound-lands*, *crofts*. The *plough-gang* was that extent of arable ground which might be tilled with a ſingle plough, within the ordinary, annual ſeaſon of ploughing: The *merk-land* was that extent of ground which afforded from the free farmer to the proprietor of the ſoil, a rent of one merk in money; A *pound-land*, was ſo much as was eſtimated at the money-rent of one pound. Such meaſurements and computations were neceſſarily uncertain and inaccurate. But, greater accuracy was not demanded for the diviſion of lands which were naturally unfertile, and had been, as yet, but little cultivated. Value is nicely eſtimated, only where it is wanted, or where it is fondly accumulated. Wide in proportion to the number of its inhabitants; producing naturally little for their ſuſtenance; ſeemingly incapable of being brought to produce more, by any induſtry which they could exerciſe upon it: The territory of Scotland was not of ſuch importance in the ſyſtem of life which the people purſued, as to require more ſkilful and aſ-

Meaſurement of lands.

ſiduous

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ſiduous pains to be now employed in dividing, and occaſionally meaſuring it out. The lands divided into ſmall portions, among the burgeſſes of the towns; the rich fields occaſionally acquired by the Clergy; the arable grounds in general; might be partly meaſured, or might have their extent incorrectly gueſſed at; for the reſt of the territory, the ſame care could hardly be deemed neceſſary*.

State of Europe in reſpect to the precious metals.

Coin, although uſeful only as a conveniently portable and transferable ſign of value, was, at this time, an object of extremely anxious, public care, among all the nations of Europe. The metals ſuitable for coinage, are but few. Several of the mines in theſe weſtern regions, out of which the ancients had been ſupplied with the precious metals, were now exhauſted, impoveriſhed, or neglected. Here and there, indeed, gold was ſtill collected in grains among the ſands of ſome rivers which robbed the mountains of their treaſures: Aſia and Africa afforded ſome portions of gold and ſilver, which the accidents of war and commerce, gradually tranſmitted into theſe European countries: That abundance of gold and ſilver, which had been once diffuſed throughout the Roman Empire, was not yet wholly waſted or loſt. But,

* Anderſon's Diplomata, Plates 24. 25; in which are mentioned *æcra*,—marcates,—*Libratarum*,—*toftam*; in which alſo it is ſaid *Thoraldus archidiaconus metas finierit*,—*antea menſurata fuit*, of a field:—Ayloffe's Calendar, P. 114:—Rymer's Fœdera, II. 1020.

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all theſe reſources for the ſubjects of coinage, were ſo ſcanty; that the quantity of gold and ſilver, in the circulation of traffic, had been long becoming continually leſs and leſs. Much of thoſe quantities of the precious metals, which were actually poſſeſſed in Europe, was withheld from the uſes of trade, by private avarice, fear and ignorance. The terrours of war and unſtable government, the impoſtures of prieſtcraft and the abſurd follies of ſuperſtition, withdrew from time to time, large portions of that coin and bullion which had been once actually poured into the mazy channels of commerce; and hid them uſeleſsly in the earth, or vainly conſecrated them at idolatrous ſhrines and altars. Yet, ſtill theſe precious metals appeared to be omnipotent over the uſes and the neceſſities of life: Their ſcarcity, and their factitious value, gave them an importance greater than was attributed to almoſt any other commodity.

Scottiſh Coins.

As yet, there had been no coins of gold ſtruck in Scotland. Silver was the only metal employed in the Scottiſh coinage. This ſilver was alloyed with a ſmall proportion of copper, which ſerved to give it the neceſſary degree of hardneſs. Of the different coins, ſtruck at the command of Alexander the Third, or of the Kings who were his predeceſſors; a conſiderable quantity, which had been neither deſtroyed nor exported, ſtill remained within the kingdom. But, theſe became gradually more

more and more ſcarce. Want of new coins for the purpoſes of traffic, or perhaps the acquiſition of ſome extraordinary quantities of bullion, produced, from time to time, a neceſſity for ſucceſſive new coinages. John Balliol, even during his ſhort, feeble, and inglorious reign, coined ſilver pennies of the ſame weight and purity, as thoſe coined by his predeceſſors. Almoſt all the Scottiſh coin was, during the ſubſequent wars, either carried away by the Engliſh ſpoilers, or paid to ſtrangers for thoſe arms and proviſions which were imported to ſupply the neceſſities of the Scots fighting for their freedom. New materials for coinage, were, however, obtained from the ſpoiling of the Engliſh, at the battle of Bannockburn, and upon various other occaſions. Robert Bruce, accordingly, exerciſed, among the other rights of royalty, that of iſſuing a new coinage. His coins were ſilver pennies, of the ſame purity of metal, as thoſe of his predeceſſors, but ſomewhat lighter in weight; and groats equally of ſilver, and each, twice the weight and nominal value of the penny. Out of eleven ounces and two penny-weights of pure ſilver, alloyed with eighteenpenny-weights of copper; former monarchs of Scotland had been accuſtomed to coin only two hundred and forty pennies: But, out of the ſame quantity of ſilver, mingled with the ſame proportion of the baſer metal, Bruce, on account, moſt probably, of the ſcarcity of ſilver, now commanded no fewer than two hundred and fifty-two pennies

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to be coined. By this diminution of the intrinſic value of the coin, the royal treaſury, and thoſe through whoſe hands, the new coinage *firſt* paſſed into the circulation of trade, would neceſſarily be gainers. For the *new* and lighter penny, *they* would be able to purchaſe, within Scotland, the ſame quantity of any commodity, as for the weightier *old* penny; while ſtrangers would not accept the new coin in payment, otherwiſe, than with a due allowance for its diminiſhed weight. But, the difference between the intrinſic worth of the new, and that of the old penny, would, by degrees, come to be univerſally diſtinguiſhed; and the current value of the former in commerce, would then fall, of courſe, to the proportion of the ſilver which it contained. It is probable, that the frequent intercourſe, amicable and commercial, which the Scots carried on, during the reign of Robert Bruce, with the French and the Germans, might firſt ſuggeſt to them the idea of coining *groats*; a ſpecies of coin, at this time, unknown, in England. Formerly the commercial dealings of the Scots, had been more with the Engliſh, than with any other nation; and therefore Engliſh money alone, had then been imitated in the Scottiſh coinage. Since, in conſequence of their wars with the Engliſh, during the preſent period, the Scots had with them little traffic, in compariſon with what was now carried on, from France and Flanders, to Scotland; it was natural that the Scottiſh money ſhould now be

Groats.

be modelled rather after the faſhion of the money of thoſe nations, between whom and the Scots, the chief payments of money in which theſe laſt had a concern, were to be given or received*. Sect. II.

Sterling confidered as a denomination of coin.

STERLING, originally the diſtinction of a ſtandard of weight, only, had been, by an eaſy tranſition, communicated alſo to a coin. For ſome time immediately previous to the acceſſion of the Norman Princes to the Engliſh throne, ſilver bullion had been weighed out, in England, to the coiners by *Sterling* weight; and the configuration and impreſſions which they gave to their coins, were intended to indicate, reſpectively, not only the purity, but the certain *Sterling* weight of each particular piece. About the time of the acceſſion of the Norman Princes to the ſovereignty of England, the weight which had been commonly uſed at the city of *Troyes* in France, was adopted to regulate the coinage of England. The artiſts employed in executing this coinage, being now commonly Frenchmen, as well as the ſovereigns by whoſe authority it was ſtruck; nothing could be more natural, than that the weight with which both the one and the other were beſt acquainted in its application to money, ſhould now be preferred to that which had been hitherto uſed in the Anglo-Saxon

* Anderſon's Diplomata:—Cardonnel's Numiſmata Scotiæ:—Snelling's Scottiſh ſilver coins:—Ruddiman's Introduction to the Diplomata, &c. Specimens of the coins are preſerved, and have been ſubmitted to my inſpection.

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Saxon coinage. But the denomination of *Sterling* remained, after the thing which it originally and properly ſignified, had been loſt. Applied to Engliſh money, it, from this time, ſignified, only that this money was of the legal ſtandard, authorized by the command of the King, and the ſanction of the legiſlature. The firſt Scottiſh coins were framed in imitation of thoſe of England. The firſt coiners employed by the Scottiſh Kings, appear to have been Frenchmen. Hence, while the *Troyes* weight, was made uſe of, in weighing out the ſilver for coinage, and in regulating the quantity of metal in each piece of coin; the name of *Sterling*, was, at the ſame time, applied to the *Scottiſh* coinage, with the ſame inaccuracy and change of ſignification with which it continued to be uſed in diſtinguiſhing the money of England. It was ſoon to be confined excluſively to the Engliſh coin, in conſequence of the debaſement and diminution of the Scottiſh ſtandard*.

Proportion between money and the neceſſaries of life.

The value of the money of this period, in commerce, is aſcertained by the recorded prices of ſome of thoſe commodities which muſt have been primary neceſſaries for ſubſiſtence. A hen was valued in the reign of John Balliol, at the price of an

* Compare the *Statute* of Edward the Firſt, *on coinage*, with the different opinions concerning the origin of the term *Sterling*; with what is known concerning the Saxon money; and particularly, with what is ſtated above, concerning the *Sterling weight*.

an halfpenny. A gallon and a half of ale, were ſold for one penny. The mediate income to the clergyman of a pariſh, was, at this time, ten *merks* of ſilver; the merk being equivalent to two-thirds of a pound. Such was the abundance of French wines brought into Scotland by the Engliſh, that, in the year one thouſand three hundred and three, as we have already ſeen, a gallon of Gaſcon wine was ſold at Perth, then occupied by an Engliſh garriſon, for the price of fourpence. Twenty ſhillings a week, was the ſum allowed to Elizabeth, the queen of Robert Bruce, during her captivity in England, for the ſuſtenance of herſelf and her ſervants. For the maintenance of ſixty men at arms, Edward the Second allotted to John de Bretagne, the daily ſum of ten merks, while de Bretagne acted as his Lieutenant in the government of Scotland. The dowry of the Princeſs Margaret, married to King Eric of Norway, was fourteen thouſand merks Sterling. Lamberton, Biſhop of St Andrew's, during his impriſonment in the caſtle of Wincheſter, had an allowance of ſixpence a day for his own perſonal expence; three pence a day, for his ſervant; one penny one farthing a day, for a boy to attend him; and one penny one farthing to a chaplain, to ſay maſs daily in his chamber. Two hundred pounds Sterling was the eſtimated value of a cargo of wool, embarked on board a veſſel of moderate ſize*.

But

* Rymer's Fœdera, II. 938. 1016. III. 11. II. 1079. III. 362:—Fordun.—Ruddiman's Introduction to Anderſon's Diplomata, &c.

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Proportion between the Sterling money of the fourteenth, and that of the eighteenth century.

But in the coinage of Scotland, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, only twenty or twenty-one ſhillings were coined out of the pound *Troyes*, of fine ſilver: And in the end of the eighteenth century, in which this work is written, ſixty-three ſhillings of lawful Sterling money of Great Britain, are coined out of the pound *Troyes* of ſilver, of equal fineneſs. The ſhilling of Scottiſh money, was therefore, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, equal to thrice the weight of a Britiſh ſhilling of the eighteenth century; the Scottiſh penny of the former period, to three pence of the Sterling Britiſh money of the latter period. The hen for which an halfpenny of the coin of that age, was paid in the beginning of the thirteenth century, would have then coſt three halfpence of our preſent money. The Biſhop of St Andrew's's daily allowance of ſixpence, contained as much ſilver, as do three of our modern ſixpences. And, ſince a fowl which would now coſt a ſhilling of modern Britiſh money, or four ſilver pennies of the ancient money of Scotland, might, about the year thirteen hundred, be purchaſed for the eighth part of that ſum; every Scottiſh penny muſt then have equalled, in its actual power over the neceſſaries of life, the quantity of power over theſe, which is now conferred by the poſſeſſion of twenty-four pence or two ſhillings of modern Britiſh coin. Beſides, the quantity of the accommodations of life, required or enjoyed by each individual, of whatever

whatever condition in ſociety, was then ſo much ſmaller, and more ſimple, than any individual in the ſame ſituation, would now, unavoidably conſume; that the ſame penny of the coinage of John Balliol or Robert Bruce, which, in its power to purchaſe the neceſſaries of life, appears to have been equal to the preſent power of twenty four pence of our preſent money; was, in truth, for the ſupport of the general œconomy of life, equivalent, at leſt, to three times that ſum, or to the uſes of ſix ſhillings of the Engliſh coin of the end of the eighteenth century. A coinage of one thouſand pounds, would then adequately perform the ſame functions in ordinary commerce, which ſeventy two thouſand pounds ſterling are now requiſite to fulfil. Little wealth was, as yet, accumulated in the country; the productive and commercial induſtry exerted to augment it, was, as yet but ſmall: And even the moderate quantity of coined ſilver, then poſſeſſed in Scotland, was therefore equal, or nearly equal, to all the demands of traffic. SECT. II.

Such, then, was the ſtate of all the arts of induſtry and traffic in Scotland, during the period which extended from the death of Alexander the Third, to the death of Robert Bruce. Huſbandry was not improved: Architecture and the other arts of domeſtic accommodation, appear to have rather receded, than advanced: In the practice of war alone, the Scots of this age, became, under Recapitulation.

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the neceſſary influence of the circumſtances in which they found themſelves placed, more illuſtrious than any of their anceſtors, or any contemporary neighbouring nation. The commerce of the Scots of this period, was not abſolutely enlarged: But, being excluded from their ordinary trading intercourſe with the Engliſh, they were driven to ſeek thoſe neceſſaries which they wanted, by a traffic with the merchants of Germany, France, and Italy, in which they might, otherwiſe, not have ſo eagerly, or ſo extenſively engaged. In every country, from the time when it is firſt occupied by human inhabitants, till theſe attain their utmoſt pitch of opulence and civilization; there is a continual accumulation of the works of human induſtry, and of thoſe productions which nature is taught to yield, under the direction of men. War, tempeſts, famine, or peſtilence may, for a ſeaſon, blaſt the fertility of nature; fruſtrate the hopes and labours of man; occaſion an enormous waſte of thoſe productions of nature and the arts which have been gradually accumulated around him, and in his hands. But, the ancient wealth is never ſo entirely deſtroyed, as not to leave the country which has been once poſſeſſed and cultivated, more ſuitable for the future accommodation of men, than if it had never before been ſubjected to occupancy or culture. There was in this period, therefore, a much greater quantity of uſeful wealth in Scotland, than in the days of Malcolm Canmore,

The increaſe of wealth happens neceſſarily in all inhabited countries.

Canmore, or of any monarch that reigned in Scotland, before the time of Alexander the Third. All the ravages of the wars with the Engliſh, could not utterly deſtroy more than a third or a fourth part of that accumulated wealth. While the rage and violence of thoſe wars, was, in the latter years of Bruce's reign, gradually more and more relaxed; the waſted wealth and population of Scotland, began to be repaired; and it is probable, that, at the time of Robert Bruce's death, the general wealth of the Scots, in houſes, cattle, armour, raiment, ſtores of proviſions, cultivated lands, money, and utenſils, was not greatly inferior to what it had been, at the acceſſion of Margaret of Norway. SECT II.

III. *KNOWLEDGE* and opulence do not indeed advance, hand in hand, nor always with equal ſteps. Yet, they, to ſuch a degree, influence one another, in their progreſs among mankind; that, a people eminently enlightened by knowledge, can hardly ever fail to have made great progreſs in the practice of all the arts, and to have accumulated many of their productions: while, on the other hand, real wealth, conſiſting of abundance of the neceſſaries, and refined and complex conveniencies of life, can never be poſſeſſed with full utility, by any nation which is not conſiderably diſtinguiſhed for profound and elegant ſcience. With the augmented wealth, the enlivened induſtry, the extended commerce of the Scots; the common maſs of their KNOWLEDGE.

Knowledge advances with the increaſe of wealth, and the improvement of induſtry.

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their knowledge was unavoidably increaſed. The experience of prior generations, although imperfectly handed down, was, however, not wholly loſt, to their ſucceſſors: And the children ſtill added ſomething from their own obſervation and experience, when they taught to the grand-children, what they had themſelves learned from their fathers. It is in the known courſe of nature, that, where extraneous cauſes do not intervene, to break the ordinary ſeries of events; every people uſually increaſe in knowledge, and advance in civilization, in proportion as their national eſtabliſhment is maintained for a longer, and ſtill a longer duration of years. In this period, the Scots were called into great tranſactions, and were urged to an expanſion of their faculties, and to an alert, vigorous exertion of all their powers; in conſequence of which, they neceſſarily became more enlightened than their forefathers.

Knowledge of material nature.

With the variations in the courſe of the ſeaſons of the year; with the diverſified phænomena of the winds, rains, and ſnows, and of all thoſe bodies which compoſe, or fluctuate in, the atmoſphere; with the motions of the ſtars, the obſervation of which, was neceſſary, not leſs to guide their nocturnal excurſions amidſt trackleſs woods, and over heath-covered hills, than to direct the courſe of their navigation on the deep; with the tides on their ſhores; with the natural productions, and the

the exterior aſpect of their country; the Scots of this age, had become better acquainted than their predeceſſors. The knowledge connected with every different mode of life, and with the practice of each ſeparate art, was now formed into ſomething like *ſyſtem*, in the minds, of thoſe who followed or exerciſed it. By the huſbandman, the nature of grains and ſoils, the changes of the weather, the laws of the ſeaſons, the uſe of agricultural implements, the management of flocks and herds; were regarded, not as a multitude of inſulated, independent facts; but, in combination, and as conjoined by relations conſecutive or collateral. All the bearings and the ties, the connexions and the dependencies of all the rules, appearances, and events in rural œconomy, were indeed, far from being completely known to the Scottiſh peaſant of this age. But, he viewed thoſe facts which were within his knowledge, not without ſome ſhare of philoſophical diſcrimination, unconſciouſly exerted. It was ſo, alſo, with the maſon, the ſmith, the artiſan of whatever mechanical art. Man can, at no time, contemplate nature, or mingle in the ſcenes of life, without feeling his mind, even inſenſibly impelled to compare, to abſtract, and to generalize. The elements of what is called philoſophy, are diſcernible in the reaſonings and practices even of ſavages, in thoſe prudential maxims which are proverbially repeated among

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among the vulgar of all nations, in the rules and methods of the moſt illiterate mechanic. Whenever we attempt to trace an unſeen connexion between any two known facts, we then philoſophize. It is in degree, not in kind, that the knowledge of the moſt profound and ingenious philoſopher, differs from that of the ignorant peaſant; the literature and ſcience of the moſt enlightened of poliſhed nations, from the proverbs, tales, and cuſtoms of the rudeſt barbarian tribe. Whatever knowledge the Scots of thē age of Robert Bruce, had, of the appearances and laws of material nature, was indeed defective chiefly in the uncertainty of its particulars, and in its want of generalization and ſyſtem: But, even of general, abſtract principles, it was not wholly deſtitute: And the obſervation and reflection of every ſucceſſive generation, were continually multiplying and extending theſe ſcientific principles.

Military Knowledge.

In the *arts of war*, we have ſeen, that the ſkill of the Scottiſh Nation was mightily improved, while they fought under Wallace and Bruce. That diſcipline which, alone, can give due effect to armed valour; that armour, without which valour is neceſſarily feeble, and diſcipline uſeleſs; that fertility of ſtratagem, which is the happieſt of all reſources amid the perils and chances of warfare; that wiſdom in the choice of the fitteſt times for military

tary expeditions, of the moſt advantageous ſituations for encampment, of the moſt convenient lines of march, which is one of the higheſt qualities of able generalſhip; All that implies maſterly and ſyſtematic ſkill in military affairs; has appeared among the Scots of this period in the utmoſt perfection that was, in any degree compatible with the miſerable want and diſtreſs to which they were reduced. Never before this time, did the Scottiſh rulers fully underſtand and regularly execute the beſt plan of reſiſtance to a formidable invaſion; that of laying waſte the country before the invaders, and retiring, to leave deſolation and hunger, to fight their battles. *Artillery* alone; but about this time firſt invented, and not yet generally uſed or known; could effectually batter thoſe fortifications which the military architecture of this Age, was ſkilled to erect. But, during their wars under Bruce and Wallace, the Scots acquired all that ſkill in conducting ſieges, which was compatible with the nature of the fortifications, and of the battering engines then in uſe. And, it was no inconſiderable knowledge of the laws of gravity, motion, and projection; of the mechanical powers of matter; and eſpecially of the qualities of the human character; which ſuch ſkill implied. Sect. II.

Was it poſſible that the Scots ſhould not become more ſkilful in the *principles of commerce, and navigation;*

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navigation; and better acquainted with the circumſtances, *arts, and manners of foreign nations*; in conſequence of the naval expeditions, and of the commercial intercourſe with Germany, France, and Italy, to which the hoſtility of England now neceſſarily drove them? The maritime and commercial knowledge of the Flemings, the French, and the Genoeſe, was unavoidably communicated, in part, to the Scots; while during theſe wars, the Scots ſold to thoſe nations, all their ſuperfluities, and ſought from them, all their ſupplies.

The wars of this period, favourable to the improvement of the knowledge of the Scots.

In times of general opulence and civility, when the arts of peace are diligently and ſucceſsfully cultivated; wars and public commotions, ariſing, never fail to arreſt the advancement and the diffuſion of almoſt all uſeful knowledge. But, the ſavage, unleſs when at war, or on the chace, ſinks into the torpor of thoſe brute animals which ſleep during the months of winter: The barbarian, deſtitute of all but military virtues, endures with impatience, a ſeaſon of peace, and waſtes it in riot and crimes. To a people, therefore, who are as yet, in a ſtate of barbariſm, the ſeaſon of war, of political convulſion, of public danger, is the only ſeaſon of the improvement of knowledge, and of the invigoration and expanſion of mind. The ſoul is then violently rouſed to put forth all its faculties; invention becomes vivid, and elaſtic; the experience

experience of a ſingle year employed in the enterprizes of war, is more than equal to the experience of many years ſlumbered away in the lethargy of peace. Amidſt thoſe wars which threatened almoſt to exterminate them from their land, the Scots gained much more new knowledge of nature and of life, than they could poſſibly have acquired within the ſame period of public and domeſtic tranquillity, unleſs their manners had been before more perfectly civilized, and their induſtry more alert and aſſiduous. In common life, adverſity, ſo often obſerved to be the beſt nurſe of virtue, proves ſuch, only becauſe, were it not for her preſſure, the ſeaſon of exertion and improvement, might be waſted in vice or folly. And, in the ſame manner, the Scots of the Age of Bruce and Wallace, had their minds much more enlarged by their warfare with the Engliſh, than if they had then lived in peace; not from any peculiar and neceſſary tendency in war abſolutely conſidered, rather than in peace, to fill the ſoul with new knowledge; but becauſe, had it not been for the urgent impulſe of war, the time would have been ſpent, without exertion or improvement, by men who were ſtill too barbarous to engage ſpontaneouſly in the calm purſuits of ſcience or elegant art. Sect. II.

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Knowledge more generally diffused among all ranks, at this time, than in any former period.

Not only was the knowledge of the Scottish nation, considerably augmented during these wars; but this knowledge was, at the same time, more generally diffused among all classes in the community, than it might otherwise have been. The priest and the layman, the baron and the servile peasant, were familiarly associated together, amid their common distresses and dangers. Rank was annihilated, in some measure, by the general calamity. The manners of the high, and those of the low, were assimilated by their mutual converse. All distinctions ceased, save those of valour, wisdom, and virtue. In these circumstances, that knowledge which was actually possessed in the nation, could not be easily confined to any one *cast* or class. While Priests and Bishops became warriours; the Knights and Barons shewed themselves, on various instances, to be not unacquainted with whatever was valuable in the little learning of the ecclesiastics. Peasants, emancipated from the servility of their native condition, successfully aspired to emulate all the great qualities of the most illustrious of their Lords. At no former period in the history of the Scottish nation, had so many persons advanced themselves by generous exertion, from meanness to dignity; and this could happen, only in consequence of opportunities being afforded to the mean by the necessities of the times, through which they might acquire the same enlargement of mind

mind that distinguished those who were truly great. Wallace himself rose from a condition, in which, in other times, he could hardly have acquired the great qualities he displayed. Several of his most faithful and most intelligent friends and followers, were men whose fathers had perhaps never been honoured with permission to bear arms. Amid the misfortunes of Edward Bruce's expedition into Ireland, Gilbert Harper, John Thomson, and others, who appear to have been of low, plebeian rank, distinguished themselves by heroism and enlightened prudence, scarcely inferior to the magnanimity and wisdom of Robert Bruce himself, and the most illustrious of his noble companions. Bunnock and French, in the capture of the castles of Edinburgh and Linlithgow, discovered a fertility of happy stratagem, such as only minds uncommonly vigorous and active, could be capable of. All these facts, and a multiplicity of others, concur to evince, that the same circumstances which, at this period, contributed to equal the peasants in danger and daring, with their Lords; served likewise to exalt many of them, to an equal pitch of knowledge and enlargement of mind *.

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In this manner was the acquaintance of the Scots, contemporaries of Bruce and Wallace, with the general laws of material nature, enlarged with the improvement of their arts, and with the extension

Recapitulation concerning the knowledge of the Scots.

* Barbour;—Blind Harry; and Fordun. passim.

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ſion of their commercial intercourſe with foreign nations: Their long ſtruggles againſt Engliſh uſurpation, tended to expand their minds, and to increaſe their knowledge, more rapidly, than if they had lived during the ſame time, in tranquil peace: The peculiar nature of thoſe ſtruggles ſerved likewiſe to diffuſe the knowledge of the community, more generally among all ranks, than could otherwiſe have happened: Nor was it, merely ſolitary facts, but infant ſcience, which they knew: It was chiefly, in its connexion with the practice of war, navigation, and commerce, that their knowledge of material nature, was enlarged, during this period.

In one ſcience, of ſingular utility, to conſole and relieve the miſeries of human life, theſe generous-minded Scots were hitherto, unfortunately, but little ſkilled. *Medicine*, more ſerviceable often by ſoothing and chearing the deſpondent imagination, than by the ſanatory efficacy of the remedies which it exhibits; was ſtill almoſt wholly unknown and unpractiſed in Scotland. It had not yet become, in this land, the ſubject of a particular *profeſſion*, in the diſtribution of the employments of ſocial life. It was not illuminated by any accurate knowledge of the phyſiology, and internal ſtructure of the human frame. The Clergy and the women exerciſed all that was known of ſurgery and medi-

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cine.

cine. Herbs, fancied to poſſeſs ſalutary virtues; mineral waters which were ſuppoſed to have been endowed by Heaven, at the prayer of this or that ſaint, with healing powers; ſpells, and incantations celebrated with all the mummery of heatheniſm, but in the name of Chriſtian ſaints; and ſome other practices, equally vain; were almoſt all the means which theſe people now knew to employ for the cure of diſeaſe, or the invigoration of languiſhing health. Some of their preſcriptions were founded upon the abſurdities of judicial aſtrology; others, upon vain notions of the exiſtence of myſterious and univerſally healing virtues in certain natural bodies, vegetable or mineral. Hoſpitals for the reception of the poor and the diſeaſed, were, here and there, erected and endowed by the ſame pious charity, which founded monaſteries and convents; and were placed under the management, uſually of monks or ſecular eccleſiaſtics. *Surgery*, the practice of which was ſtill more neceſſary than that of *medicine*, in an Age of inceſſant war and bloodſhed; could not be exerciſed with tolerable dexterity and ſkill; ſince the ſtudy of anatomy had not yet been cultivated; and ſince no very apt or delicate ſurgical inſtruments had, as yet, been fabricated. The exerciſe of the healing arts, could not fail to add much to that influence over the minds of the people, which the Clergy derived from their ſpiritual pretenſions. And, amidſt the general

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general inutility of their medical precepts; it was, however, impoſſible, that there ſhould not be ſome obſervations of diſcerning experience, and ſome ſagacious, although ſimple, dictates of common ſenſe, applied to the cure of diſeaſes; ſuch as might claim the approbation of judicious medical practitioners, in any age. *Nicholas de Tynewick*, Phyſician to Edward the Firſt of England, was a Prieſt, and was largely provided in benefices, by his royal patient. We know not whether Robert Bruce might be ſo fortunate as to have any eminent Phyſician to alleviate to him the diſtreſs of that leprous or ſcorbutic diſorder which afflicted his latter years. We know, however, that his ſentiments of benevolence and devotion under that affliction, led him to found a charitable inſtitution for the benefit of poor lepers, at *Prieſtwick* near the town of Ayr*.

Fundamental principle of moral diſtinctions.

Upon the difference between *Exiſtence* and *Non-exiſtence*, depends the primary distinction between right and wrong, between good and evil. Whatever tends to produce, to preſerve, or to exalt the perfection of, exiſtence, is *Right* and *Good*: That, alone, is abſolutely *evil*, which tends, directly and excluſively, to deſtroy or degrade ſome exiſting nature. Hence do mankind regard the Deity, as a being whoſe acts and qualities have, all, the moſt powerful tendency to create new beings,

* Fœdera:—Fordun.—Statiſtical Account of the Pariſh of Newton of Ayr, &c.

beings, or to preſerve and improve the natures of thoſe which he has already created. It is upon this ſame principle, that the utilities of ſociety, truly or incorrectly diſcerned, have been ever held by legiſlators, and in the practice of common life, to be the only certain rules of moral judgment and obligation. No ſavages have ever exiſted, ſo rude, as to be ignorant of a diſtinction between the relative merits of actions and objects, as theſe appeared to be, reſpectively, more or leſs uſeful to the individual, and to the community. Amidſt the refinements of vain philoſophy, amidſt even the extravagancies of fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition; it is ſtill to the perhaps miſtaken utilities of human nature, to the production and the preſervation of exiſtence, power, knowledge, and happineſs; that every thing reckoned morally excellent, is ultimately referred for the explication of thoſe relations on which its excellence depends. When the Prieſt talks of the *will*, and of the *favour*, or *anger* of his God; when the pretended philoſopher harangues concerning *ſelf-love*, *benevolence*, *truth*, or *propriety*, as the ſole principle of human virtue; neither the one nor the other, ſo far as he underſtands himſelf, ever means, in reality, any thing elſe; than that ſentiments, actions, and objects, which promote the general good of man, and of all nature, have the merits of virtue; and that reaſon, by the ſame diſcernment, by which it diſtinguiſhes

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tinguiſhes exiſtence from non-exiſtence, diſcriminates likewiſe thoſe merits.

Progreſs of moral diſcernment.

Moral Diſtinctions, formed upon this grand principle alone, are uſually corrected, multiplied, enlarged in men's minds; in proportion as their ſkill in the practice of the Arts, their knowledge of the laws of material nature, and their experience in ſocial intercourſe, are improved. As the comforts of civil life, the powers, the relations, and the fortunes of mankind, become better known; men learn to apply the principle of moral diſcrimination, with clearer intelligence, to a greater diverſity of objects. Few and ſimple are the moral ideas of the ſavage. To his paſſions, not to his underſtanding, he owes whatever may appear greatly virtuous in his character. The barbarian, who has advanced ſome ſteps above the ſavage, in the aſcent towards civility and illumination of mind; poſſeſſes principles of morality, more complex, and more extenſive in their application: The tenor of his life, may not be always more virtuous; but, he can better diſcern, than the ſavage, between good and evil.

In this period of their hiſtory, the Scots were ſtill barbarians; but, barbarians, rather advancing onwards to civilization, than receding back to ſavage rudeneſs. Their notions of the nature and the

the obligation of the moral duties, were, generally clear, liberal, and correct. Of the rules of *juſtice* they ſeem to have been, in the beginning of this period, more uniformly obſervant, than at any former time. Robberies and thefts were now, comparatively, rare. A degree of domeſtic ſecurity, was enjoyed, which nothing could have effectually maintained, except a general conviction of the public and private utility of mutual honeſty and forbearance. Since Galloway had been finally ſubdued; and the Hebudæ ultimately ceded by the Norwegian Kings; the unity of dominion, thus eſtabliſhed throughout the Scottiſh territories, had greatly contributed to ſuppreſs rapine and injuſtice; and to make every individual in the nation, by conſequence, ſtill more and more ſenſible of the advantages of ſocial order. Would any, but a people who knew to value aright the benefits of law, juſtice, and tranquillity, have ſo dreaded the wars and diſcords which threatened to ariſe, upon the death, firſt of Alexander the Third, and afterwards of his grandchild, Margaret of Norway? In the contentions for the ſucceſſion to the throne, there was ſhewn a concern to preſerve the rights of the lawful heir, which could ariſe only from a love of juſtice in the breaſts of thoſe whoſe private intereſts were not involved in the iſſue of the competition. The confidence with which the weak and humble occaſionally appealed to the laws of their

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country, againſt the violence of haughty and potent oppreſſors; muſt have been encouraged by the growing authority of the laws. By that diſſolution of law and order, which neceſſarily enſued during the ſtruggles againſt Engliſh uſurpation; reverence for private rights, was, indeed, for a while, ſmothered in every heart, by the overpowering predominancy of more ardent and tumultuous ſentiments. Nakedneſs and hunger reſpect not the laws of property: Rapine and avarice are tempted to crimes above their ordinary daring, by that proſpect of impunity, which ſeaſons of civil diſcord and general calamity, ſeem to preſent. But, the ſucceſs of their patriotic efforts, re-eſtabliſhed the national independence of the Scots, and with it, the power of law and the ſacred dignity of juſtice. Of public right and juſtice, the famous epiſtle from the Scottiſh Parliament to the Pope, is an illuſtrious proof, that they had conceived notions ſingularly liberal, clear, and correct. That epiſtle diſcovers its authors to have regarded the utility of ſocial life, as the firſt principle of human virtue; and to have underſtood the laws of morality to be paramount to the dreams of ſuperſtition. It beſpeaks a ſenſe of the native freedom and independence of the human character, ſuch as none but vigorous, ardent, and enlightened minds could conceive. It expreſſes a perſuaſion of the omnipotence of truth and virtue, as ſuperior to all grandeur and authority, human or divine. The moſt ſublime moraliſts of poliſhed

polished antiquity, the most penetrating and comprehensive minds among modern philosophers; have taught no moral principles more indisputably just, or more exalted; than those which were, in that epistle, asserted, with deeply impassioned feelings, by an assembly of rude, illiterate, Scottish warriours*. Sect. II.

Those virtues which cannot be enforced, like obedience to the rules of distributive justice, by the sanction of human laws; are often the most congenial to the spirit of the rude barbarian. Although, in truth, enjoined, equally as the ordinarily acknowledged principles of equity, by the eternal laws of rectitude; they seem, however, at the first aspect, to be merely optional to man. In exercising them, he feels himself to exert a power, not to bow to a restraint. By the lofty, unbending mind, the duties of pity, charity, fidelity, forbearance, are ardently embraced, at the very same time, when it scorns all human laws, and refuses submission to any earthly dominion. The fierce and stern Edward Bruce wept the fall of his friend Walter Ross in the battle of Bannockburn, with a tender sorrow of which his nature had been thought unsusceptible. Had Robert Bruce been willing to violate the truce granted by his brother, to the English garrison in Stirling- Charity &c.

* The original Epistle is printed at it, full length, in the Appendix to this Volume.

Sect. II. Stirling-Caſtle; inſtead of obſerving it with a ſacred and honourable fidelity; he might probably have won the caſtle, without that mighty attempt being made from England to relieve it; which threatened to overthrow, for ever, the glory and independence of the Scots, in the field of Bannockburn. There was a generoſity in the conſtant attachment of James Douglas to the intereſts of Bruce, which almoſt equals the moſt honourable friendſhip of the moſt illuſtrious heroes of any age. Except in the hotteſt rage of battle, Wallace, Bruce, Douglas, Randolph, and all the braveſt men who fought with them, ever ſpared and protected the vanquiſhed with an amiable humanity. Wallace, in many of his perils and eſcapes, was hoſpitably entertained, and faithfully concealed among the meaneſt of the people; who, if their ſouls had been capable of perfidy, might have earned wealth and honours, by betraying him. Priſoners of war, were now no longer doomed, in Scotland, to maſſacre or hopeleſs ſervitude: They were humanely treated; and if not diſmiſſed without ranſom; were reſerved for redemption or exchange. Strangers who came not as enemies, were ſtill ſure to ſhare the humble couch, and even his few laſt morſels of bread, with the Scottiſh peaſant. Charity, not leſs than ſuperſtition, appears to have prompted the inſtitution and endowment of many of thoſe pious eſtabliſhments, by which indeed the clergy alone,

were

were ultimately enriched. Honour, truth, fidelity, mercy, magnanimous conſtancy, and fortitude, are virtues of which many conſpicuous inſtances appear in the hiſtory of the Scots of this age*. Sect. II.

The factitious paſſion of *Patriotiſm*, is always eminently virtuous. It cannot exiſt in any mind, unaccompanied with a diſcernment of ſocial good. It is an ardent apprehenſion of public utility; indentifying this utility, by an happy artifice of imagination, with whatever is powerfully obligatory in duty, or peculiarly grateful in private enjoyment. This ſentiment can never be other than one of the nobleſt that ſwell the human heart. But, it may be more or leſs excellent; according as the people, the political conſtitution, the arts, the ſcience, the manners of that community in whoſe favour it is felt, ſhall be more or leſs eſtimable and perfect. Sometimes, it is a tranſporting paſſion, guided by very little clear intelligence: At times, its object is not genuine public utility, but its miſtaken ſemblance: The paſſion acts occaſionally with ſuch extravagance, as to purſue its object, through the violation of all other human obligations. In all theſe caſes, the real excellence of the principle, is in ſome degree, impaired and degraded by errours of imagination, and an exceſs of emotion, which tend to make it uſeleſs or miſchievous. Genuine patriotiſm prefers to all other objects Patriotiſm.

* Fordun.—Barbour:—Blind Harry:—Fœdera *paſſim*.

Sect. II. objects of purſuit, the public good of that community to which the patriot belongs, ſo far only, as this can be actually promoted by his efforts, without the neglect of ſubordinate duties, or the commiſſion of poſitive evil. Patriotiſm ſo pure and rational, is rarely felt among men.

By this virtue, however, above all others, were the Scots of this age, diſtinguiſhed. Their country, and their fellow-countrymen were to them, in a manner, all the world. The narrowneſs of their acquaintance with mankind, and with the regions of the globe, tended to preſerve a ſtrong ardour in their attachment to one another, and to their native land. Having begun to feel the benefits of that civil order, which was maintained among them by the conſtitution of their government, and the authority of their monarchs; they were too much intereſted in thoſe benefits, to relinquiſh tamely the eſtabliſhment from which they aroſe. It was weakneſs, it was ſlavery, it was mean, not generous ſelf-denial; the very ideas of which, are intolerable to the rude and ferocious mind; to ſubject their country to the dominion of England, and to ſuffer the very name of Scotland to be forgotten. Theſe were the principles of their patriotiſm; nor was it the moſt pure and enlightened that we can conceive. Yet, how many illuſtrious deeds did it prompt? What an exalted elevation

of

of character did it confer? Fear, hope, indignation, ambition, none of those emotions or passions, which almost invariably triumph over human virtue, whenever they assail it; could subdue the patriot ardour of Wallace. Even in the breasts of the meanest peasants, the same ardour burned. Bunnock, in taking the castle of Linlithgow, shewed himself no less a patriot and a hero, than did Bruce or Wallace in their most glorious enterprizes. Even the women were passionately inspired with the same sublimely virtuous sentiment. The Countess of March resolutely defending the castle of Dunbar, the Countess of Buchan daringly setting the Crown on the head of Bruce; command all that admiration which is due to the most patriotic magnanimity. Graham perishing before Dunbar; Fleming and his comrades devoting themselves to death at Carrickfergus; the generous contests among the followers of Bruce and Wallace, who should undertake the boldest enterprizes, and who should do the most to deliver his country? are such instances of patriot valour and virtue, as have rarely been exceeded in any other nation or age. The Clergy equalled the patriotism of the yeomanry and the nobles. They, who might have beheld the war, uninjured and unconcerned; shook off the robes of peace; assumed the weapons of war, and exposed their breasts to the foe; subjected their temples, castles, convents, and granaries,

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ries, to hoſtile ſpoliation; and practiſed all thoſe artifices which had been the appropriated engines for the defence of the intereſts of their order; all, to preſerve the freedom of their country, and the independence of its Crown. If this were not the ſublime and godlike patriotiſm of the perfectly wiſe and virtuous man; it ſeems, however, to have been ſomething calculated to ſerve the ſame purpoſes, nearly as well*.

Recapitulation concerning the virtues of the Scots.

AT this time, then, the *moral knowledge* of the Scots; wrought deeply into the national character, and beſt expreſſed in thoſe virtues for which they were the moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed; appears peculiarly conſpicuous in their increaſing reſpect to juſtice, and love of order; in the fidelity, the charity, the generous forbearance which they, almoſt univerſally exerciſed; in that fond, enthuſiaſtic patriotiſm, which made them poſtpone all other cares and intereſts to the glory, the ſecurity, the freedom of their country. Courage; that habitual ſentiment, which is virtuous by contemning perſonal danger, in compariſon with duty, honour, or the gratification of generous paſſion; was the fundamental principle, in ſome ſort, upon which depended all the other excellencies in the character of the Scots who were contemporaries and companions of Wallace and Bruce. In the other congenial virtues, they were not deficient.

BUT,

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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Vices of the Scots.

But, man is ever a ſtrange compound of knowledge and ignorance, wiſdom and folly, vice and virtue. Single out the worthy qualities in the character of any individual, he is an angel; view only his vices and follies, he ſeems a devil or a brute. Several of the darkeſt crimes of barbarians, much of the blind fury of the ſavage; marked the manners of thoſe very Scots whoſe generous and enlightened virtues we have admired. Wallace is related by the minſtrel of his fame, to have ferociouſly murthered *Fawdon*, one of the braveſt and moſt faithful of his followers, upon no other provocation, than becauſe *Fawdon's* ſtrength failed him, and he could not, with ſufficient velocity, attend his leader's flight, in a perilous eſcape. Horrible, beyond the moſt bloody practice of war, in more poliſhed ages, were the cruelties often inflicted by the Scots, in their inroads into England. Even their patriotiſm can hardly afford a ſufficient excuſe for the perfidy with which Lamberton and Wiſheart, the two Biſhops of St Andrew's and Glaſgow, violated their moſt ſolemn engagements to the Engliſh monarch. It ſhould ſeem, that all the reſtraints of morality, of law, and of religion, muſt have been deſpiſed together, by Bruce and his aſſociates, who aſſaſſinated Comyn, at a friendly conference, and in a holy place. Perſonal enmities, ſelfiſh views of private intereſt, and motives

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of uncertain caprice, probably excited much of that oppoſition to the Engliſh, which operated with nearly the ſame efficacy as true patriotiſm, to preſerve the independency of the Scottiſh nation. Amidſt that ſuſpenſion of the energy of government, and that relaxation of civil order, which took place, while it was undetermined, what new ſovereign Scotland ſhould obey; many enormous crimes were committed, which, in other times, could not have eſcaped condign puniſhment. From the fatal battle at Dunbar, in the year one thouſand two hundred and ninety-five, a gallant Knight named Walter Seward, made his eſcape in company with a ſervant, who from infancy had been tenderly brought up in his houſe, and whom he regarded with high confidence and kindneſs. They had paſſed Muſſelburgh, on the way towards Edinburgh, when Seward began to lament to his ſervant, the fate of the battle from which they had eſcaped, the calamities of their country, the perfidy of many of their fellow-countrymen. His inſidious follower pretended to liſten with earneſt ſympathy. But, while the maſter, amidſt this diſcourſe, rode anxiouſly on before, the traitor eagerly imitating that perfidy which he had juſt ſeemed to deteſt, ſuddenly transfixed his good lord in the back with his ſpear; and then as he fell from his horſe to the earth, ſtabbed him to the heart with his dagger. This baſe aſſaſſination was perpetrated

Treachery,

at

at Redſigot (now *Friggat-Whins?*) and the body of the murthered Seward, was afterwards buried in the Abbey of the *Holy-Rood*. In their incurſions into the northern provinces of England, the Scots are related to have maſſacred infants in the cradle, and women in child-bed; nay, to have even cut off the breaſts of various women; and to have ſhut the doors upon the children at ſchool, and then ſetting fire to the houſes, to have thus burnt to death, hundreds of them together. Still, we can diſcern in the manners of the Scots, thoſe two grand features of the barbarian character; a perpetual inclination to regard force, as the only meaſure of right; and a readineſs to employ the darkeſt fraud to accompliſh thoſe purpoſes which there is not ſufficient force, to effect. With theſe qualities, they diſplay alſo, in many inſtances, an inconſtancy of faith, and a levity of ſpirit, ſuch as ſeem to be almoſt wholly incompatible with their diſtinguiſhing virtues. Chaſtity is rarely the virtue of ſoldiers, or of either ſex in that ſociety in which *ſoldiers*, and *prieſts* profeſſing celibacy, are the moſt eminent claſſes. Edward Bruce, although married to the ſiſter of the Earl of Athole, was paſſionately attached to the ſiſter of his friend Walter Roſs, with whom he held an adulterous commerce. The Counteſs of Buchan, who firſt ſet the Crown on the head of Robert Bruce, was ſuſpected to have been actuated, on that occaſion, not

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Licentiouſneſs.

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not less by a criminal passion for him whom she crowned, than by patriotism or party-spirit. Few of the Clergy, regular or secular, faithfully observed those vows of chastity, by which they all lightly engaged themselves. They were not ashamed to entertain mistresses openly; and to bring up, in the eye of the world, their families of illegitimate children. Envy and mutual distrust, were vicious sentiments which contributed greatly to confound and perplex the counsels of the Scots, during their contests with the English, in this period. Nothing but the disunion produced by mutual jealousy and distrust, seems to have prevented the first considerable army that was drawn together by Wallace, from defeating the English host at the river Irvine, or at least protracting the campaign, with advantage to themselves. That dark conspiracy against the authority and life of Bruce, which was fortunately detected through the indiscretion of the Countess of Strathern, seems another such unaccountable lapse from virtue, as that of the angels rebelling in heaven*.

Want of mutual confidence.

These, and other instances of vice, guilt, and folly, permit us not to contemplate the moral virtue and intelligence of the Scots of this age, with that high, unabated admiration, which their great qualities would, otherwise, have been sufficient to command. Such vices and crimes, however, with only

* Fordun. L. XII. XIII:—Barbour, &c.

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only ſome diverſity of ſhades and colours, prevail more or leſs among all nations, and in every ſtage of the progreſs of ſociety from rudeneſs to refinement. But, among ſavages, ignorance, groſs vices, and atrocious crimes, are the habitual manners, the predominant, characteriſtic features of the *horde* or tribe: virtues, rare, as flaſhes of lightning burſting through a midnight ſtorm. The firſt, and moſt ſtriking effect of the firſt ſteps of advancement out of the ſavage ſtate, is; that the proportion of the virtues, becomes greater, in compariſon with that of the vices and crimes. Crimes now begin to goad the breaſt with the agonizing feelings of remorſe: The ſettled habits become virtuous: Vice appears only in occaſional out-breakings, which are as exceptions from the general rule. In a ſtate exalted yet ſomewhat higher above ſavage rudeneſs, moral order becomes ſtill more invariably the law of public and private life. The laſt perfection of the illumination and civility of men living together in ſocial union; muſt neceſſarily be characterized by ſuch an increaſed exertion of induſtry, as ſhall leave no hour to be waſted, and no faculty to languiſh, at any time in indolence; by ſuch an improvement of reaſon, as ſhall penetrate through almoſt all the myſteries of nature; but eſpecially, by a confirmation of the power of virtue in every heart, which ſhall ſcarcely leave a veſtige of wickedneſs and guilt upon the earth. In

Increaſe of virtue, the moſt ſtriking effect of the progreſs of refinement.

proportions,

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proportions, thus continually varying with the progreſs of civilization and refinement, are virtue and vice ever intermingled in the characters, and in the actions of nations, and of individuals. And, it is enough, that we ſee atrocious crimes and groſs, brutal vices to have been leſs frequent and leſs general among the Scots in this, than in any preceding age: It is enough, that, in circumſtances, in which their more barbarous or ſavage anceſtors would, moſt probably, have ſhewn few proofs of a reaſonable, moral diſcrimination; the contemporaries of Wallace and Bruce, have appeared to be virtuous in their general habits of conduct, and to have occaſionally diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a diſplay of the moſt illuſtrious qualities that adorn the hero and the ſage. Purſuing the progreſs of the hiſtory of the Scots, we may hope to ſee their virtues gradually improve, and the groſſneſs of their vices and the enormity of their crimes to diminiſh, as they ſhall advance, through ſucceſſive generations, ſtill to higher civilization and refinement.

Laws of the Scots.

Laws expreſs the moſt definite, and moſt familiar, moral notions of the people among whom they are eſtabliſhed. With theſe, they neceſſarily comprehend alſo the explanation of thoſe circumſtances in the ſituation of this people, to the modification and regulation of which, their commonly received, moral principles have been applied. Since the

the conquests of the Anglo-Saxons, and the propagation of Christianity in North Britain, a system of written laws had been gradually formed among the Scots. By the influence of various causes, but particularly of their intercourse with England, subsequent to the Norman conquest; the Scottish nation received the forms and institutions of Feodism, to regulate their national policy, and their respective civil duties. Their written laws became, in consequence of this event, a *medley* of the customary practices of the ancient Scots, Picts, and Britons; of the written laws of the Anglo-Saxons; of the more formal, feudal policy introduced into this isle by the Normans; and of an intermixture of forms and maxims derived out of the *canon*-law. In all but the rules of the feudal policy, the Scottish laws were not derived from the laws of England, but contemporary with them in their origin and progress. From the Anglo-Saxons of Northumberland, masters for a while, of the southern districts of Scotland, and ancestors of the greater part of the Lowland Scots; was all that appears to have been originally Anglo-Saxon in the old laws of Scotland, derived, by direct descent; not at all through the intermedium of the laws of England. SECT. II.

Progress of the Scottish Laws.

During the reigns of David the First, and his successors, to the death of Alexander the Third, the code of the Scottish laws, continued to be, from time to time, enlarged by the addition of new statutes,

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tutes, ſuggeſted by the contemplation of the policy of foreign nations, or required by the varying courſe of public events, and by the changing manners of the people*.

Laws of feudal ſucceſſion, eſtabliſhed with new preciſion, in conſequence of the conteſts for the Crown.

The diſcuſſion of the laws of feudal ſucceſſion, which was produced by the conteſts of the competitors for the Scottiſh Crown, after the death of Margaret of Norway; tended to elucidate, and to determine this part of the law of Scotland, more perfectly, than had ever been done before. During Balliol's vaſſal-reign, the authority of Edward, his acknowledged Lord-Paramount, was powerfully exerted in order to reduce the laws and civil government of Scotland towards a conformity with thoſe of England. After the depoſition of Balliol, Edward's Lieutenants, for a ſhort time, governed Scotland, nominally indeed by the old laws of the Scots; but, in truth, much more upon the principles, and after the forms of the Engliſh law. The power and the improvement of the Scottiſh laws, were ſuſpended by the events which followed. No ſtatutes of the ſhort period of the government of Wallace, or of that regency which ſucceeded him, have been preſerved among the national archives. Robert Bruce, after he began to account himſelf, certainly maſter of Scotland, ſummoned his Barons into Parliament, to enact new laws anſwerable to the new and extraordinary exigencies of

* See Book I. Sect. 2. and Book II. Sect. 2.

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of the ſtate, and which might ſerve to remedy the evils that had ariſen from long anarchy and war. The ſtatutes enacted by two different Parliaments in Bruce's reign, are the only additions that we know to have been made to the code of the Scottiſh laws, during this period of our national hiſtory. Whatever influence the Engliſh laws might inſenſibly and indirectly gain in Scotland, at this time; it is, at leſt certain that the abhorrence with which the companions and willing ſubjects of Bruce, naturally regarded every thing that was Engliſh; prevented them from retaining and incorporating with their laws, any of thoſe inſtitutions or forms of the adminiſtration of government, which Engliſh uſurpation had attempted to eſtabliſh among the Scots.

Laws defining and guarding the *relations between perſons* and *property*.

THOSE *relations between perſons, and things conſtituting property*, which had been acknowledged and protected by former laws, were recognized and confirmed by Bruce and his Parliaments. Force and favour had, for ſome time prevailed over right, in the adminiſtration of diſtributive juſtice; and it was now carefully ordained that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered with equal impartiality, to the feeble and to the powerful, to the rich and to the poor, agreeably to the ancient laws of the kingdom. The farms and houſes belonging to the Clergy regular and ſecular, had been ſpoiled and ſeized occaſionally

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casionally by violence, during the contests for the succession, as well by the followers and subjects of Bruce, as by the English and their adherents: But the Parliament held at Scone in the year one thousand three hundred and nineteen, strictly enjoined, that the rights and properties of the Church should be thenceforth held sacred and inviolate.

Rapine punished.

On their march to join the royal armies, bodies of troops from different parts of the country, had often plundered, even their own friends, without mercy: But, laws were now enacted to restrain and punish this rapine. The fishing of the salmons which entered the rivers, was an object of great importance in the annual provision for the national subsistence: It was therefore decreed, that fishing *yards* and *cruives* at the mouths of rivers, should be made with a sufficient width between their bars, to permit the smaller fishes to pass upwards; and that fishes should not be taken during that part of the year which was necessary to their spawning and breeding. Measures were provided to yield ready legal redress to such as might be violently dispossessed of their lands by more powerful intruders. The most severe punishments were awarded against theft and robbery.

Exportation prohibited.

On account of the miserable poverty to which the nation had been reduced by their long wars, all gratuitous exportation of the produce or accumulated wealth of the land, out of the kingdom, was, for a time, rigorously

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gorouſly forbidden. It was ordained, that every individual ſhould prevent or repay any injury ſuffered by his neighbour, from cattle which were *his* property. The fraudulent donation of lands, to religious houſes; intended not ſo much for the benefit of the religious houſe, as to deprive the King, or any inferior Lay-Lord, of thoſe ſervices of military tenure, for which ſuch lands had been held; was, in the *ſecond ſtatutes* of Robert Bruce, prohibited under the pain of forfeiture. New acts were inſtituted to regulate the forms of the ſucceſſion to inheritances; of the proſecution for the recovery of debts; of feudal ſervitude and dependency. Corn purchaſed out of foreign countries, or from the ſhips of merchants importing it, was exempted from the ſervitude of *thirlage*, and from the payment of *multure*, to any particular mill. Theſe were the principal, new laws which the varying circumſtances and manners of the times, induced Robert Bruce and his Parliaments, to enact for the ſettlement and the maintenance of *the relations between perſons and property*, under his reign*.

Fraudulent donations to religious houſes forbidden.

Others

* Roberti Primi Statuta Prima, in Capit. 1. 2. 4. 8. 11. 12. 18. 23. 24. 31 :—Roberti Primi Statuta ſecunda in Capit. 1. 4. 6. 7. 8. 18. 19. 29. 34, &c.

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Relations between one individual and another; and the laws defining them.

Others of the new laws of this period, reſpected the *relations between one individual, or one order of individuals in the community, and another.* Among theſe, the moſt important were thoſe which prohibited rapine, robbery, and theft; which awarded the puniſhment of death againſt the crime of malicious murther, or even manſlaughter; and which forbade any one individual to deprive another of his property, however acquired, otherwiſe, than under the regular forms of law. Such ſtatutes ſimply recognized and confirmed thoſe fundamental principles of ſocial union, but for which, man would ever be an enemy and a beaſt of prey to man. The long prevalence of that anarchy which had now begun to yield to firm dominion and orderly government, was the only cauſe which rendered it neceſſary to expreſs principles ſo ſimple, and ſo fundamental, in new ſtatutes.

It was not again requiſite to expreſs in written ſtatutes, the firſt general duties of morality, mutually due between parent and child, huſband and wife, brother and brother. But to the laws declaring the mutual obligations between *maſter* and *ſervant*, between *vaſſal* and *ſuperior-lord*, were added other decrees which forbade ſuperior-lords to claim from their vaſſals, any but thoſe payments and ſervices which the vaſſals had, by the conditions of their charters, ſtipulated to render; prohibited

hibited vaſſals from withdrawing their *ſuits* at law, irregularly, out of the courts of their Lords; and regulated the quantity of the ſubſidies to be paid by tenants to the Lords from whom they held their lands. Such ſubſidies were to be exacted only when the ſuperior Lord propoſed to inveſt his ſon and heir with the inſignia of knighthood, or to give his eldeſt daughter in marriage. The ſum of twenty ſhillings; equal, in its power over the uſes of life, to the preſent power of ſeventy-two pounds of Sterling money of the eighteenth century; from every knight's fee or forty *plough-gangs* of land; was the full amount of the ſubſidy which the ſuperior Lord was permitted to exact, upon thoſe two occaſions, from his vaſſals. But, the rights of becoming the guardian of his vaſſal's minor heir, and of receiving a certain ſum in the name of *heriot* from the heir of any vaſſal, whether that heir were a minor, or might have attained the years of majority, at the time of his ſucceſſion; were ſtill reſerved, in the genuine ſpirit of the feudal inſtitutions, to the *over-lord*. *Maniacs* and *ideots*, for the general ſecurity of the community, were to be kept in ſafe cuſtody by their relations and friends, or to be impriſoned by the judges and other officers of public juſtice. The *inhabitants* of every *ſheriffdom* or ſtewartry, were enjoined to reſort for tranſactions of ſale and purchaſe, only to markets within the confines of the ſtewartry or ſheriffdom to which they

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Lord and Vaſſal.

Maniacs.

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they reſpectively belonged. *Judges* convicted of corruption or partiality in the diſtribution of juſtice, were to become ever after incapable of any judicial employment. To protect the rights of ſucceſſion in any man's collateral heirs, it was ordained, that a widow declaring herſelf to be with child by her huſband, at the time of his deceaſe, ſhould, thirty days before the expected birth, be committed to the care of her late huſband's relations; and that they ſhould diligently watch againſt all poſſibility of her impoſing a ſuppoſitious child, to defraud them of their juſt rights of ſucceſſion. *Servants*, having no ſhare in the national legiſlation, were, among their other hardſhips, ſubjected to the reſtraints of a law, which prevented a ſervant from being engaged in the employment of a new maſter, while his former maſter could pretend any tolerably plauſible claims to his ſervice. With a laudable and humane juſtice to thoſe who were accuſed of crimes, it was provided, that they ſhould not be deprived of their goods, until after their legal conviction of the crimes of which they ſhould have been accuſed. For the *recovery of debts* due to merchants, it was ordained, that the creditor, after giving ſatisfactory proof of the reality and juſtice of the debt which he claimed, might obtain the impriſonment of his debtor's perſon, the ſale of his perſonal property, and temporary poſſeſſion of his lands. All men were ſtrictly forbidden to make themſelves

Servants,

Recovery of debts.

themſelves avengers each in his own cauſe; and were commanded to ſeek the redreſs of their wrongs, and the vindication of their rights from the authority of the laws, and of their ſovereign, alone. A particular form of legal proceſs, was preſcribed, by which the heir of a vaſſal, might recover poſſeſſion of his father's lands, unjuſtly withheld from him by the ſuperior lord. Whoever laid a complaint againſt another perſon in the forms of the law, was obliged to give bond for the proſecution of the charge, until a final judgment might be obtained. To protect the *majeſty of the Sovereign*, it was ordained that perſons ſpreading falſe reports, to excite mutual diſſatisfaction between the King and his ſubjects, ſhould be impriſoned, upon the firſt diſcovery of their guilt, and farther puniſhed, at the King's pleaſure. Beſide judges; *proctors* to act for the parties at law, and *ſerjeants* to execute the ſentences and mandates of the judges, were employed in the courts of juſtice*.

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Seditious Speeches.

These and ſuch other laws of inferior importance, as were enacted during this reign, for the purpoſe of *defining and regulating the relations between one individual and another*, or between one order of individuals and another; were but ſo many additions to the ſame claſs of the ancient laws, inſtituted in the reigns of Bruce's predeceſſors. The authority

* Statuta Roberti Primi, *paſſim*.

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rity of thoſe ancient laws, was renewed and confirmed by the events which ſeated Bruce on the Scottiſh throne. But, new ſituations, new virtues, new crimes, and new knowledge, required theſe enlargements and corrections of the laws, by which the mutual relations of perſons were regulated.

Laws regulating the duties of individuals to the Community.

All the individuals, and all the different claſſes, or incorporated bodies, in the nation; however diſtinguiſhed from one another by diverſity of powers, ſituations, and duties; compoſed but one grand Community. The whole body of the laws, by which the mutual and common obligations of the members of any community, are defined and eſtabliſhed; the public officers employed under the laws, for conducting the functions of the government; the members of the community viewed in their relation to its political conſtitution: Theſe all together repreſent the *Commonwealth* or *ſocial union* and *intereſts*, to him who wiſhes to examine and diſcern the nature of his *public duties*. Theſe duties,—the ſervices due from every private perſon to the *Community* to which he belongs; are recognized in the primary union of all aſſociated bodies of men; and are ſtill more clearly underſtood, and more and more forcibly enjoined, as the duration of any political ſociety is prolonged, and as the code of its legiſlature is enlarged and improved.

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The *first grand public duty* of individuals to the community; to defend its exiſtence, its union, its rights; was well underſtood, and zealouſly performed by the Scots of this Age. Nor were they careleſs of the *duty* which is the *ſecond* in importance of thoſe due from private perſons to the commonwealth; namely, to improve and perfect, as much as poſſible, its ſtructure, and all the parts of which it is compoſed. All their wars with England, were waged in defence of the independent exiſtence, the political union, and the rights of the Scottiſh nation. That law among the Acts in the firſt collection of the ſtatutes of Robert the Firſt, which in its preamble, records the exiſtence of diſſenſions among the Nobles, ever ſince the death of Alexander the Third, and concludes with enjoining mutual forbearance, peace, and ſubmiſſion to the laws; was evidently dictated by honeſt regard for the public welfare. The ſame concern for the general intereſts of the community, ſuggeſted the ſtatute authorizing the King to impriſon, without trial, any of his ſubjects who ſhould be accuſed to him, of propagating rumours, to excite mutual jealouſy and diſcord between him and his people. It was for the ſake of the general welfare of the ſtate; that its members were enjoined by the Parliament, to accoutre themſelves, each with armour ſuitable to his rank and wealth; that the exportation of goods out of the kingdom, was for

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a time forbidden; that Parliaments were held, and the authority of an executive government, acknowledged. For this great purpoſe, were all thoſe meaſures anxiouſly employed, which were directed to provide for the peaceable tranſmiſſion of the Crown from heir to heir, in the line of the poſterity of Robert Bruce. For this end, were all thoſe treaties, negotiations, embaſſies, epiſtles, which occur in the hiſtory of the public tranſactions of the Scots of this Age*.

Duties of Judges.

The public duties of *judges* were, in this period, more accurately defined, and more ſolemnly enjoined, than they had been, before; by the inſtitution of laws to regulate the forms of proceeding in their courts, and to provide for the puniſhment of their corruption, negligence, or partiality. The public duties of the inferior miniſters of law and juſtice, were likewiſe more correctly determined than they had formerly been; by a law diſtinguiſhing the attorney or agent from the meſſenger or ſerjeant belonging to the baronial or royal court.

The public duties of the King, the Baron, the Sokman or Ceorle, the Burgeſs, the Eccleſiaſtic, the ſervile Peaſant; varied and enlarged only by theſe and ſome few leſs important, new acts and inſtitutions; remained, in all other reſpects, the ſame

* Statua Roberti I.—Fœdera:—Fordun, &c.

same as they had been acknowledged to be by the forms of the ancient laws, written or customary. The *King* was still the General of the national troops; the administrator of distributive justice; the most august and exalted member of the Legislative Assemblies; the ultimate proprietor of almost all the lands in the kingdom; which had been either originally assigned to his remote predecessors for the support of the regal dignity, or had been acquired from foreign foes by conquest, or from subjects by forfeiture. The Baron, Knight, or other military freeholder, was still obliged to serve the King in arms, for a certain number of days in each year, and with a number of armed followers proportioned to the extent of the lands which he held by military tenure. The Burgesses of any of the King's burghs served him in arms; and partly by other less honourable services, agreeably to the peculiarities of their burgage-charters. The Sokmen performed only peaceful, menial servitudes. The Clergy enjoyed their lands and tithes, subject to no conditions but that of discharging their ghostly functions. The *villains* were still liable to be transmitted from Lord to Lord, with, or without the lands on which they lived in servitude. It was still the duty of all these different classes to obey the direction of the laws, in promoting the general interests of the Community, with zeal and activity proportioned to the advantages

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advantages which they derived from its ſupport and protection.

Duties of the community to its members.

The commonwealth or Community thus compoſed and ſupported, had powerful means to reward the ſervices of its members; and employed a grand apparatus of ſervants, and of public functions, legiſlative and executive, to maintain its own exiſtence, and to diffuſe throughout all its parts, the bleſſings of civil life. It employed for this purpoſe, that *Legiſlative Body* which was legitimately compoſed of the King and all his free vaſſals, at the æra of its primary inſtitution; when the nation might be ſuppoſed to conſiſt only of the free vaſſals of the Crown, their wives and children, and the ſlaves whom the fate of war or ſervile birth, had ſubjected to their tyranny. The legiſlative body had originally enacted or tacitly authorized all the laws written or cuſtomary, which were obeyed in the kingdom.

Functions of the Parliament, or Legiſlative Aſſembly.

By their authority the King reigned; and was ſucceeded on the throne, after his death, by him whom the feudal laws of inheritance, recognized for his heir. Without their conſent and appointment, the King could legally do nothing more in the government of the ſtate, than command its armies, maintain its domeſtic tranquillity, and carry into execution thoſe laws which the national legiſlature had ordained. No new taxes could be levied,

ed, no new ſervitude could be demanded by the King from his vaſſals; ſave only thoſe taxes and thoſe ſervitudes which were ſtipulated in the conditions of their tenures; unleſs thoſe vaſſals ſolemnly aſſembled in Parliament, ſhould have formally granted his demands, as neceſſary to anſwer the exigencies of the ſtate. Not only the great military vaſſals, but burgeſſes, alſo, ſokmen, and eccleſiaſtics, were, by the fundamental laws of the ſtate, and by the conditions of their tenures, members of the great Legiſlative Aſſembly. Superior wealth, more furious violence, and accidents in the progreſs of the ſocial eſtabliſhment, had reduced the ſokmen, the burgeſſes, and the inferior clergy to aſſiſt, only by ſelect repreſentation, in the deliberations of the Legiſlature. At the firſt, it had been otherwiſe. Sect. II.

The members of this Legiſlative Aſſembly were called together by the King alone, for the diſcharge of their Legiſlative functions. He preſided in their meetings; but had not in himſelf, at this time, power to annul or reject their decrees. The majority of voices prevailed to dictate the law in any deliberation. Their *clerks* recorded their tranſactions. The laws they ordained, were promulgated through the kingdom by the King's *ſheriffs* and other officers of juſtice. The care of carrying thoſe laws into execution, remained

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remained in all ordinary caſes, with the King alone*.

Next after the Legiſlative Body of the nation, thus conſtituted, acting for thoſe purpoſes, and obſerving ſuch forms of procedure; the *Community* by its political conſtitution, intruſted to the *King*, the performance of thoſe duties which it owed to the individuals aſſociated under it. The King was the only ſervant, properly ſpeaking, whom the community employed to defend it againſt foreign enemies, and to protect its domeſtic peace. To him was committed the execution of all its laws. It was his buſineſs to protect by the power with which he was legally inveſted, all private perſons and the community itſelf in the exerciſe of all their duties, and the enjoyment of all their rights. While the Legiſlative Body was not aſſembled, no power within the ſtate, could lawfully reſiſt the royal authority, otherwiſe than by an appeal to the Legiſlature and the laws. Even when aſſembled for the exerciſe of their Legiſlative functions, they could controul the authority of the King, only by a formal, Legiſlative act†.

Functions of the King.

For his perſonal ſupport, and as means to enable him to diſcharge the executive functions committed to him by the political conſtitution of the ſtate, the King poſſeſſed lands and caſtles, and various

Royal revenues.

* Regiam Majeſtatem, *paſſim* :—Fœdera :—Fordun, &c.

† Eoſdem.

rious other ſources of revenue. His lands were in part granted out to the officers of his army, his houſehold, and his civil government, to reward their ſervices, while they remained in office. Other parts of the royal domains were poſſeſſed by the military vaſſals of the Crown; Barons, Knights, and Eſquires; on the condition of their performing at the command of their Sovereign and ſuperior Lord, certain military ſervices ſpecified in the written deeds recording the grants of their poſſeſſions. The burgeſſes and other free vaſſals poſſeſſed other parts of the royal domains upon the condition of paying money and menial ſervices, either ſolely, or together with occaſional military ſervice. Some parts of the Crown lands, were ſtill retained in the natural poſſeſſion of the King himſelf, and were managed by hinds attached to the ſoil, under the direction of the King's ſtewards, or other domeſtic officers. Sect. II.

In addition to theſe engines of power and ſources of revenue, the Kings of Scotland had, before this time, begun to derive a permanent or occaſional income from taxes levied on the tranſactions of merchandize. Such an income could not be legally received by them, without the ſanction and appointment of the Parliament. But, in theſe times, power did not always requeſt the aid of law; nor could *its* alliance always protect, or give energy to weakneſs. A tax of cuſtom was levied upon the wool Taxes and cuſtoms.

* Eoſdem:—See Books I. and II. Sect 2. of each.

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wool exported from Berwick. Salmons, herrings, tallow, hides, and all other ſubjects of exportation, were unqueſtionably ſubjected to the payment of a ſimilar charge to the Monarch. It was in the power of the King and his Parliament to prevent the importation of goods by foreign merchants, otherwiſe than upon the condition of the importing merchants paying reaſonable taxes out of their profits from the ſale of the imported goods*.

Extraordinary aids.

Even the ordinary revenue of the Crown, drawn from theſe different ſources, was often found inadequate to the exigencies of that adminiſtration of government which was confided to the King. In ſuch caſes, it became neceſſary for the monarch to throw himſelf upon the liberality of his vaſſals, aſked from more or fewer of them, individually; to ſeize by force and illegally, thoſe ſupplies which he needed; or to aſſemble his free vaſſals in Parliament, and there to explain his wants, and demand the neceſſary ſubſidies. To ſome pecuniary aids from his vaſſals, to be contributed at ſtated periods, he was intitled by the cuſtoms of feudal tenure, and by the conditions of the grants which he had beſtowed.

These revenues, occaſional and permanent, enabled the King to maintain for the diſtribution of juſtice, *Sheriffs*, who had now come in the room of the *Earls* or *Counts*, whoſe ſubſtitutes they originally

* Regiam Majeſtatem:—Rymer's Fœdera *paſſim*.

nally were: a *Juſticiary* of the kingdom whoſe duty it was annually to perambulate the different diſtricts of the country, and to pronounce ſentence in criminal caſes, with the full force of the royal authority: a *Chamberlain*, who likewiſe travelled through the kingdom annually, and at his courts took cognizance of matters connected with the ordinary œconomy of induſtry, trade, and public police; judged in all cauſes connected with the receipt of the royal revenues; and acted as the principal ordinary receiver of theſe revenues for his Sovereign's uſe. This had once been more properly the buſineſs of the King's *Steward*. But, that officer had been gradually exalted from a merely domeſtic, and private ſervant, to the moſt conſpicuous and important ſtation in adminiſtering the government of the kingdom, under the King. The *Cupbearer*, the *Maſter of the Wardrobe*, and the other officers of the royal houſhold; although not directly or properly concerned in the public adminiſtration, yet unavoidably acquired authority in the King's counſels, and became miniſters of his government, in conſequence of their ſituation in his family, and near his perſon*.

SECT. II. The King's Officers, Domeſtic and Civil.

BESIDE thoſe officers to whom the royal power was partially delegated for the diſtribution of juſtice, for the levying of the royal revenue, and for

His Military Officers.

* Regiam Majeſtatem:—Appendix to this Volume, No. II.

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managing the œconomy of the King's houſehold; he had alſo his *High Conſtable*, the commander of the National Cavalry, whoſe buſineſs was to ſummon to actual ſervice thoſe who were obliged to ſerve on horſeback, againſt the King's enemies, and to lead them upon the deſtined expeditions; a *Lord-Marſhal*, the commander in chief of all his armies, ſubject in authority only to the King himſelf, and to his *High Steward*; at leſt, at thoſe times when the national forces were actually in the field; and when the King did not, by ſpecial command, intruſt the conduct of any particular enterprize, to another, rather than to the *Marſhal*. Under theſe high military officers, the King employed alſo *Governors* of *Forts* and *Caſtles*; and *Barons* and *Knights*, commanding each that proportion of the royal forces which attended him, as his own followers, to ſerve under the royal banner*.

Other officers, domeſtic, civil, and military, were likewiſe occaſionally employed by the King to perform certain ſervices; which although falling properly within the province of ſome one or other of the officers above mentioned, yet could not for the time, be conveniently diſcharged by him. Such were ambaſſadors ſent to conduct political negotiations with foreign courts; to conclude treaties of peace, to propoſe the exchange of priſoners,

Ambaſſadors.

* Fordun.—Blind Harry:—Barbour:—Winton:—Regiam Majeſtatem, *paſſim*.

priſoners, to pay or to receive homage in the name of their maſter. Sect. II.

These were the revenues put into the King's hands; and theſe the ſervants civil, military, and domeſtic, whom he was enabled to employ: in order that he might adequately diſcharge thoſe duties which he owed to the Community, in conſequence of the high rank he held in it; and thoſe functions of protection, encouragement, and reſtraint, which the Community required him, as its firſt ſervant, under the Parliament of the nation, to perform towards all its individual members.

Assizes or *Juries;* a part of the Political Conſtitution of the Scottiſh State, which derives its origin from the policy of the Northumbrian Anglo-Saxons; ſerved partly to aid the royal authority in the diſtribution of juſtice, partly to reſtrain it from the oppreſſive abuſe of its powers. The King's *Juſticiary* was not authorized to decide, alone, in civil or criminal caſes, at any of the courts which he held. It was his buſineſs to ſummon the whole freeholders of every county to meet him at his court within that county: He then heard their complaints of injuſtice ſuffered from one another, or from ſtrangers: Thoſe who had neither done nor *ſuffered* wrong for which there was redreſs demanded, and who were friends equal- Juries.

ly

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ly to the complainers and to the accuſed, were called to determine concerning the truth of the complaints offered, and the degree of the injury that had been ſuſtained: When theſe men compoſing the *Jury* or *Aſſize*, had determined concerning the truth of the complaint, and the nature of the wrong; the *Juſticiary* or other judge then pronounced the ſentence of the law againſt the criminal. In civil, as well as in criminal caſes, the enquiries and determinations of the Jury ſtill preceded and directed the ſentence of the Judge. The Sheriffs; judges themſelves, in the abſence of the *Juſticiary*; attended his courts, ſimply to do him honour by their attendance, and to aſſiſt in the carrying of his ſentences into execution.

Juriſdiction of Barons and Burghs.

The Barons, the Magiſtrates of every burgh, the Biſhops and Abbots who poſſeſſed the baronies of the Church; exerciſed, each within his own domains, a ſubordinate judiciary power over thoſe tenants and vaſſals who were dependent upon them, or held lands from them, by whatever ſpecies of tenure. At the courts of the Barons, forms of law were obſerved ſimilar to thoſe which prevailed in the royal courts. But certain ſpecies of cauſes were reſerved for the judgment of the King or his Juſticiaries alone; and from the ſentence of a Baron or his Bailiff preſiding in his court, the parties might appeal to the King, and carry their cauſe

cauſe before the regal courts for new inveſtigation and deciſion*. Sect. II.

New ſtatutes regulating the duties of the Community to its members.

Such was the general œconomy of thoſe means which were provided by the Political Conſtitution of the State, to enable the community to preſerve its own exiſtence, and to protect and ſupport its members. In the courſe of the preſent period, extending from the latter part of the thirteenth nearly to the middle of the fourteenth century, the variations of cuſtom, and new proviſions of written law, added ſome new regulations, and abrogated ſome of the ancient forms reſpecting theſe matters. To this head are naturally to be referred thoſe ſtatutes of the Parliaments of Robert Bruce which particularly enjoin the equal, impartial diſtribution of juſtice among all the King's ſubjects, agreeably to the laws; thoſe which are directed to regulate the equipment and the attendance of them whoſe duty it was, to ſerve in the royal armies; thoſe which ſpecify new forms of judicial procedure; thoſe which forbid the ſale or gift of armour to the enemies of the nation; thoſe which denounce ſevere penalties againſt perſons violently oppoſing the King's officers in the execution of the laws; thoſe which grant to the inhabitants of Galloway, the benefit of the laws of Scotland, aboliſhing whatever was oppreſſive in the cuſtoms of order and

* Regiam Majeſtatem, *paſſim*.

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and government to which the Galwegians had been formerly ſubject*.

Recapitulation concerning the Laws.

And theſe were in this period, the laws enacted to enlarge the ancient code of the Scottiſh legiſlation, to accommodate it to the altered circumſtances of the time, or to revive and confirm beneficial ancient laws that had fallen into diſuſe. In defining and regulating the relations between perſons and property; the relations of civil intercourſe between one private perſon and another; the political relations of individuals to the community; and thoſe again of the whole community to the individuals, and the orders of whom it was compoſed; was this whole code of *written* laws; with the cuſtomary laws eſtabliſhed by the known and uncontradicted practice of the country, and by the forms and precedents of judicial courts; excluſively employed.

Compared with the laws of Scotland, ſuch as they appear to have been from the time of David the Firſt to the days of Alexander the Second; the *ſtatutes* of the Parliaments of Robert Bruce plainly beſpeak an improvement in the ideas of the Scots concerning political and civil rights and duties. Conſidered in reſpect to the freedom or ſervitude of the ſubjects, they ſhew the feudal conſtitution, not to have been that ſyſtem of tyrannical

* Statuta Roberti Primi.

nical oppreſſion, which it has been repreſented to be. The peaſantry were indeed ſlaves. But all the other ſubjects of the government, enjoyed, while feodiſm flouriſhed in its full vigour; a ſpecies of turbulent liberty which was often ſcarcely compatible with civil order. From the ancient conſtitution of the Old Scottiſh and Anglo-Saxon governments, the feudal conſtitution of the Scottiſh government now differed in little elſe, except in that the King was ſupreme proprietor of all or almoſt all the lands in the kingdom; a change accompliſhed chiefly by the progreſs of manners, by the conſequences of frequent conqueſts of new territories, and by the forfeiture of the poſſeſſions of wealthy ſubjects. From the feudal eſtabliſhments, ſuch as they had appeared at their firſt formal inſtitution in Europe, the preſent feodiſm of Scotland, differed only in this circumſtance; that offices, and poſſeſſions which were originally granted by the King, only during the life and good behaviour of the perſons who obtained them, had before this time become in almoſt all inſtances hereditary; becauſe the idea of hereditary ſucceſſion is extremely natural in the human mind; and becauſe the inhabitants of Europe were acquainted with ſo few modes of the tranſference of office, of compenſation, and of poſſeſſion, that they neceſſarily adopted only that which was in their circumſtances the moſt obvious.

SECT. II.

Reflections on the preſent ſtate of the Scottiſh Laws.

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ous. So far as the feudal conſtitution of the Scotiſh government was changed; it was by an inſenſible uſurpation by the King of a portion of power which the original ſpirit of the conſtitution had not confided into his hands; but by a much greater uſurpation of the Nobles and other military freeholders, of hereditary wealth and power, which ought ſtill to have remained partly with the King, and in part with the community at large. Not but that this change and theſe uſurpations were perhaps ſerviceable to the progreſs of civility and refinement, becauſe they tended to introduce gradually a better order of things. Even the ſlaves, however, by their numbers, by the meliorated cuſtoms of ſervitude, and by the influence of Chriſtianity, began to recover ſomething of that liberty of which conqueſt and oppreſſion had deprived their forefathers.

Titles and enſigns of honour

RANK as a thing diſtinct from actual wealth or power; *titles* merely honorary; and *enſigns* of dreſs or armorial bearing, expreſſive of the honours, power, alliances, wealth, or glory of the wearer; were now, at length, ſo conſiderable in the ſyſtem of life and civil policy, as to deſerve a place in the hiſtory of the knowledge of the Scots of this time.

SECT. II. Origin and use of *Hieroglyphics*.

THE expreſſion of thought by attitude, geſture, painting, and moveable material ſigns, is as ancient, and as natural to man, as the communication of his deſires and purpoſes by vocal ſounds. The *Art of Writing* is poſterior to that of preſerving and communicating the knowledge of events by the uſe of *hieroglyphic* characters. Speech and writing, improved even to their higheſt perfection, can never wholly ſuperſede the uſe of paintings and other material ſigns in the intercourſe of intelligence between man and man. After hieroglyphics and other ſilent ſigns of thought have been rejected out of the ordinary buſineſs of ſociety; they are ſtill preſerved for certain ſolemn purpoſes, in the accompliſhment of which they ſeem to be peculiarly ſignificant, or to beſtow extraordinary dignity. Such are the ſolemnities of religion; the ceremonials of courts; acts accompanying the ratification of peace between hoſtile nations, or their mutual denunciations of war; trophies of victory; ſtigmata of infamy; tokens of mutual affection between friends or lovers; and relics which preſerve the remembrance of the dead to thoſe ſurvivors to whom their memory is dear.

FROM this uſe of hieroglyphic paintings, and other material ſigns of human thought, advantageouſly continued, even after the perfection of ſpeech

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Heraldry, nothing more than a particular application of hieroglyphics.

and of written language; have ariſen all the inſignia of *Heraldry*, and all the exterior marks of diſtinction and honour. Even naked ſavages have been obſerved to paint and puncture their bodies in a manner intended to diſtinguiſh high birth, valour, power, and dignity from meanneſs, weakneſs, and cowardice. Among the ancient Romans, the nobles preſerved ſtatues of their anceſtors in their houſes, and exhibited them at their funeral ſolemnities. In modern Europe, among thoſe nations who ſubdued the Roman Empire, and in the ages which intervened between the time of its fall and the æra of the revival of civilization and learning, the *Heraldic Art* had acquired a regular form: And thoſe rude warriours who wanted in a great meaſure the benefit of letters to preſerve and celebrate their glory, were obliged to truſt to the emblazonments of the Herald, and the tale or ballad of the Minſtrel. The ſhield worn by the ſoldier to defend his breaſt, was the tablet on which were inſcribed the hieroglyphics of his glory. On it were repreſented emblems of his valour, of his power, of other qualities in his character, and other circumſtances in his condition. It bore alſo figures hiſtorically alluſive perhaps to ſome great action which he had recently performed. Paintings of the limbs, or of the whole bodies of animals; repreſentations of the celeſtial ſigns; the forms of every thing remarkable in the realms of art or nature, were aſſumed as honourable

Heraldry firſt aſſumed a regular form among the nations of modern Europe.

nourable insignia to grace the shield of the warriour. These representations were abbreviated, in order that as much meaning as possible might be crowded within the narrow space of the exposed side of the shield. Colours, relative position upon the shield, every diversity of aspect or circumstances, however minute, was made significant. Alliance, rank, dignities, almost all events in the fortunes of human life, gradually came to be represented in the hieroglyphics of the herald. The warriour's crest was exhibited as surmounting his shield. Slaves or the figures of inferior animals were introduced, supporting and exposing to view the ensigns of his dignity and honours. The *Herald*, who was allied in his office and character to the Minstrel, but more honourable than the minstrels in their degraded state; who was usually employed to summon the national soldiery to join their Sovereign's banners; and was intrusted with the care of distinguishing those soldiers from one another, as they arrived, and of assigning them, under his commander's orders, their several ranks and stations: the *Herald* was, at the same time, the officer who emblazoned the warriour's shield; and it was his business to explain the meaning, and to adjust the proprieties of the heraldic hieroglyphics. It was his business likewise, to regulate all the ceremonials of combat, and to hear proposals of truce or peace between contending foes*.

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This

* See Guillim:—Nisbet:—Dallaway.

Sect. II. Scottiſh Heraldry.

This ſyſtem of the enſigns and ceremonials of honour and of public intercourſe, had been gradually eſtabliſhed in Scotland, as well as in the other countries of Europe. In the earlieſt times in which the Scots had any thing of the order of civil government among them, they uſed alſo inſignia of honour, and ceremonials of intercourſe; although theſe were then indeed ſimple and rude. The introduction of the feudal forms and cuſtoms of France and England into Scotland, brought with it, an improvement and a multiplication of their heraldic ceremonies and enſigns. When titles of dignity, merely honorary, began at length to be conferred among them; and when noble families were permanently eſtabliſhed in the kingdom; theſe circumſtances created a neceſſity for the paying of new and more anxious attention to the forms and hieroglyphics of heraldry. Heralds were to be at length united into a body ſubject to certain common regulations; dependent upon the Lord-Marſhal, and upon certain ſuperior officers among themſelves. In certain caſes a judicial power was to be attributed to them. The repreſentations on ſhields, and coats of armorial bearing became objects of mighty importance to the Scottiſh, and not leſs to the Engliſh nobles and warriours of theſe times. Froiſſart has commemorated in a rhyming form, the armorial bearings, of the Knights and Barons who, ſoon after this

this period, attended Edward the Third of England at the ſiege of Caerlaverock. In the year one thouſand three hundred and twelve, Hugh Harding, an Engliſhman challenged William de Saintlowe, a Scotſman, as wearing without a juſt right, the armorial coat of the name and family of Harding. By the permiſſion of the Scottiſh King, they mutually appealed for the deciſion of the right between them, to the event of a ſingle combat. At Perth they fought; Harding maſtered his antagoniſt; and Saintlowe was diveſted of his coat of arms. In the progreſs of this hiſtory, we ſhall find, from time to time, new memorials of the ancient ſtate of heraldry in Scotland, which will enable us gradually to examine and to hold up to view, all that is curious or important in the art*.

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With the progreſs of heraldry, and with thoſe changes which the lapſe of time, inſenſibly produced upon the civil and military policy of the Scottiſh government; the gradual riſe of merely honorary nobility, was intimately connected. In the original diſtinctions of rank in Scotland, there had been no titles barely honorary. Every title implied the office and the authority of the perſon on whom it was beſtowed. The *King* was the firſt magiſtrate of the ſtate: An *Earl* or *Count* was the actual military and civil ruler of a particular diſtrict

Origin of Titles merely honorary, in Scotland.

* Fordun:—Froiſſart:—Niſbet.

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trict of the kingdom: A *Baron* was a warriour commanding a certain number of his own armed vaſſals in the King's army, and poſſeſſing lands ſufficient to ſupport his followers: A *Knight* was a ſingle warriour ſerving on horſeback, and completely armed: An *Eſquire* was the ſole attendant on a *Knight*: A *Sheriff* or *Viſcount*, was the ſubſtitute of a *Count* or *Earl*, employed to govern his county or earldom, while he himſelf was abſent: A *Lord* was a perſon poſſeſſing an eſtate in land, and maintaining an houſhold. Almoſt all the other titles of honour known in Scotland, were denominations of office, which have never yet wholly loſt their primary ſignification. The changes of civil policy in Scotland, had already reduced the *Count* or *Earl* from being the governor of a particular diſtrict to be ſimply the proprietor of an eſtate, over the inhabitants of which indeed he exerciſed an hereditary juriſdiction, but ſo as not wholly to exclude the authority of the King. The diſtinction of *Lord* had now begun to be confined to *Barons* alone, and even to Barons of more than ordinary eminence. The office and denomination of *Viſcount* were rare: The *Sheriff* was the ordinary magiſtrate, employed to diſcharge, with inferior authority, in every county, thoſe functions which had been formerly intruſted to the Earl. *Knight* was ſtill applied in its primary ſignification: Every man of free, military birth; unſtained by any crime of his own,

or

or of his parents; and poſſeſſing wealth ſufficient to enable him to accoutre himſelf in the proper armour, to acquire a horſe to bear him, and to retain an Eſquire to follow him; *might*, when he had attained the maturity of his ſtrength and years, with due ſkill and dexterity in military diſcipline; *might* then claim the honour of being knighted by the hand of any illuſtrious Knight from whom he ſhould deſire to have that diſtinction conferred upon him. *Spurs* gilt with gold, were a common enſign of the knighthood of him who wore them. Such was the preſent ſtate of military honours in Scotland*. SECT. II.

THE ſtate of the knowledge and practice of RELIGION had not been greatly improved in Scotland, from the æra of the death of Alexander the Third, to the death of Robert Bruce. The Clergy were ſtill regarded as the miniſters and vicegerents of Heaven: having power from God to bind and to releaſe, to acquit or to condemn. They ſtill taught, that ſubmiſſion to their authority, and a due care to gratify them with wealth and other rewards, were the fitteſt means which the profane Laity could employ to win the forgiveneſs and the favour of their God. They taught, that the violation of the obligations of morality, was indeed heinouſly ſinful; but that prayers, charitable munificence, penitential diſcipline, the indulgences of the church, and RELIGION; Doctrines and worſhip.

* Fordun:—Barbour:—Blind Harry:—Fœdera, *paſſim*.

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and the attribution of the ſuperabundant merits of Jeſus Chriſt and his Saints to the guilty ſinner, were ſufficient to atone to God for every crime that mankind could commit. They had exalted a multitude of pretended ſaints to ſhare with God Moſt High, the adoration of themſelves and their diſciples. They had contrived to extend their pretended power over the fate of men, beyond the term of the preſent life; by preſenting to the imagination of the affrighted, dying ſinner, a ſtate of purgatory beyond the grave, from which their maſſes and prayers might relieve him, before the full lapſe of the deſtined period of his purifying ſufferings. They taught, that the wicked dead were often ſent amid their torments, to walk the earth by night; to haunt in miſery thoſe ſcenes in which their guilty deeds had been perpetrated; to reveal the ſecrets of their guilt, to the ſurvivors; and thus to deliver theſe from entanglements in which the crimes of the departed wretch, had involved them; or to procure new prayers and other vicarious ſervices from the living, by the efficacy of which the perturbed ſpirit might at length be permitted to reſt in peace. Eremitical retreat from the intercourſe of the world, devout contemplation, prayer, and ſolitary converſe with God, had in the eſtimation of the Clergy and Laity of this Age, the higheſt merit that man could poſſeſs in the ſight of Heaven. Believing that Jeſus Chriſt,

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Chriſt, the Son of God, had vicariouſly endured the ſufferings due to erring mankind, and had wrought works of righteouſneſs to be imputed to men; they extended the ſame principle farther, and perſuaded themſelves, that although men could never equal the merits of their Divine Saviour; yet Mary, the mother of Jeſus; the Apoſtles who followed him, and propagated his goſpel; confeſſors, martyrs, hermits, ſaints honoured as ſuch by the Church; had merits active or paſſive, which were much more than adequate to accompliſh their own ſalvation; and which gave them extraordinary influence with God, to obtain the ſalvation of ſinners who ſhould implore their interceſſion. It was even fancied that theſe ſaints were to be pleaſed, like the heathen deities of old, by temples, convents, and cells erected to do them honour, and by coſtly gifts conſecrated to them in the places of worſhip. Their feſtivals were fondly celebrated; and were ſo numerous as to occupy very many days in the round of the year. *Relics* were recommended by the Clergy, to the fond devotion of their diſciples. They taught, that the excrements, the bones, the blood, the fleſh, the garments of a departed ſaint, poſſeſſed, in conſequence of their relation to him, an inextinguiſhable virtue, ſufficient to work miracles, to ſanctify and to protect from danger, the perſon by whom the holy relic was poſſeſſed: And that ſuch a relic in ſome de-

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gree brought down from Heaven the holy and benign influence of the ſaint himſelf, to dwell wherever it might be conveyed. Churches, bells, houſes, whatever was conſecrated by the Clergy, was alledged by them to have acquired ſacred virtues by the conſecration. Their robes, their cathedrals, their religious rites, diſplayed whatſoever was moſt ſplendid and awfully grand in the arts and manners of the Age. The ſervices of the church were performed in a ſort of barbarous Latin often little underſtood even by its prieſts. But the emblematic ceremonials of this religion, the wild legends which were repeated, and the ſtern diſcipline which was exerciſed, taught the people to call themſelves Chriſtians, and to revere the Clergy as the miniſters and vice-gerents of heaven; and this was almoſt all that thoſe eccleſiaſtics deſired. They aſſumed to themſelves the power of diſpenſing with the obſervance of all moral duties. An oath, a promiſe, a contract, however ſolemn, however ſincere, was no longer obligatory, when the Church were willing to grant abſolution for the violation of it. Marriages between perſons allied even remotely by conſanguinity or affinity, were religiouſly forbidden: Yet, the indulgence of the Church could make the moſt inceſtuous marriages lawful. For all crimes, the Church was ready to grant abſolution after they were committed: For many crimes, a

diſpenſation

dispensation might be obtained, before the act were perpetrated*. Sect. II.

The Clergy composed a grand *incorporation* within the kingdom, having a character, rights, and interests which detached them, almost wholly from their fellow-subjects. They consisted of an Archbishop, Bishops, Deans, Canons, Prebendaries, Rectors, Vicars; all secular ecclesiastics: of different orders of Monks or regular Clergy, possessing abbacies, priories, cells, and governed by Abbots, Priors, and subordinate officers: as also of Nuns possessing convents, and governed by their Abbesses and Prioresses. The Monks and Nuns were of different *Orders*, distinguished from one another by deriving their origin each from a different founder; by possessing each endowments and establishments peculiar to itself; by being each subject to peculiar rules of religious discipline; and by having, each order a particular *General* of the order, who, under the authority of the Pope, governed all the clerical persons of that order, who were within the Christian world. The government of the secular Clergy, was placed in the hands of the Bishops, the Deans, and their Chapters, the Archbishop, and the national assemblies of the Church. The Clergy had their *Canon-Law* which prescribed the rules of Church-Government and ecclesiastical discipline, and which enabled them to draw Structure of the Hierarchy.

* Fordun:—Winton *passim*, &c.

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draw artfully many ſecular cauſes before their courts, and under their peculiar cognizance. They were ſubject to the Roman Pontiff; although independent of the Engliſh, or of any other foreign church. In various forms, and under various pretences, the Pope drew a conſiderable revenue, in taxes, and occaſional contributions, from the Scottiſh Clergy. A Papal Legate did not continually reſide in Scotland, but occaſionally viſited it. During the wars conducted by Balliol, Wallace, and Bruce; eſpecially during the greater part of the reign of the latter; the receipts of the Romiſh Court out of Scotland, were greatly diminiſhed, in conſequence of the extreme poverty to which this country was reduced; and in conſequence alſo of the excommunication of the Scottiſh King and his adherents, and of the meaſures of indignant retaliation which the Scots adopted*.

Revenues of the Clergy.

The revenues and poſſeſſions of the Scottiſh Clergy, were, in compariſon with the extent and the general wealth of the kingdom, very ample. The Biſhoprics of Glaſgow and St Andrew's were endowed with wide territories, with the patronage of a multitude of benefices, and with great riches of all ſorts. The abbacy of Kelſo had large eſtates. Great alſo was the opulence of the abbacy of Paiſley, and of that of the Holyrood at Edinburgh. The Biſhopric of Dunkeld enjoyed

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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enjoyed very extenſive patronage. The revenues thus poſſeſſed, aroſe partly out of eſtates which had been piouſly beſtowed upon this or that church; partly from tithes which were now eagerly exacted by the Clergy, out of the annual produce of the labours and poſſeſſions of the Laity. Scarcely a rich man died, without bequeathing a legacy to the Church. New chapels were from time to time built; new pariſhes erected; new priories and convents founded. Thoſe pariſhes which were under the patronage of a Biſhopric, or an Abbey, were often ſerved by a Vicar, who was obliged to content himſelf with a part of the full benefice, while the reſt was reſerved for the Biſhop or Abbey to whom the patronage of the *living* belonged. The Monks in any particular monaſtery, being able by their numbers, to perform the eccleſiaſtical functions for many pariſhes; engroſſed by this means many benefices, as a fund for the revenue of a ſingle convent. The property of the Clergy was leſs liable to the violation of robbery and plundering warfare, than that of the laity; and by conſequence, the ſame extent of poſſeſſions would afford to an eccleſiaſtical proprietor, a larger and ſurer income than could have been derived from it, by a Layman. The Clergy, too, were uſually the better huſbandmen and œconomiſts: They alone had orchards, and well-ſtored granaries, and incloſed and well-cultivated fields: Their houſes were more commodi-

ous,

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ous, and their furniture commonly richer than thoſe of the Laity: Their flocks and herds were not always ſpared amid the ravages of war; but were however often ſpared, when thoſe of the Laity were driven away or deſtroyed*.

Morals of the Clergy.

Their manners were indeed conſiderably corrupt; yet leſs ſo, moſt certainly, than thoſe of the Laymen. Monaſteries and convents became ſcenes of torpid indolence, gluttony, drunkenneſs, unnatural uncleanneſs, and of eternal envy, jealouſy, backbitings, and jarring ſtrife. In their intercourſe with the world, both regular and ſecular eccleſiaſtics practiſed a thouſand infamous arts of hypocriſy, fraud, and impoſture. Thoſe whoſe eccleſiaſtical rank and offices required them to preſerve extraordinary gravity and ſanctity of manners, were often conſpicuouſly faithleſs, profligate, and unjuſt. But, if theſe vices prevailed among the Clergy; they prevailed among them however leſs generally, and in a degree leſs offenſive, than among the Laity. There were ſtill many eminent examples of ſocial and of aſcetic virtue. Mildneſs and humanity often inculcated by example; the independence and freedom of their country reſolutely maintained, at a time when but for the Clergy, the martial nobles of Scotland, would, moſt probably have betrayed it; hoſpitality generouſly exerciſed; charity continually beſtowed with liberal

* Fordun. &c. *paſſim.*

liberal bounty; the youth inſtructed in the principles of religion and the elements of human learning: Theſe are the names of ſo many claſſes of virtuous deeds, the remembrance of which muſt claim the veneration and gratitude of all future times to the Scottiſh Clergy of this age. What ingenious artiſans were there in the land, except the Clergy and their dependents? Who were the lawyers and phyſicians of the time? The Clergy. Who were the hiſtorians of the age? The Clergy alone. Who preſerved by continual tranſcription the remains of ancient learning, and the memorials of paſſing events? We muſt ſtill anſwer,—the Clergy. Their ignorance, their avarice, their pride, their debauchery were, in a great meaſure, the vices and the ignorance of that period of ſocial improvement in which they lived: Thoſe virtues and that knowledge by which they were the moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed, were produced chiefly by the influence of their ſacred profeſſion, and by the peculiar ſpirit of their order*. SECT. II.

THE elegant literature and erudition of the Scots, were, in the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century truly ſmall. Few of them could read; ſtill fewer knew to write. In ſome ſpecimens of their *hand-writing* which have been preſerved in charters, epiſtles, and other written LITERATURE. Writing.

ten

* Barbour:—Winton:—Fordun. &c.

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ten deeds; it appears to have been ſometimes not indiſtinct, nor inelegant: In other inſtances, the letters reſemble the ſcratches of an infant, or a drunken perſon: In all, the letters are crooked and angular, diſplaying nothing of the beauty of modern manuſcript. The *language* ſpoken, at this time in Scotland, appears to have been in the interior parts of Galloway, and from the Frith of Clyde, throughout the Hebudæ, and along the weſtern coaſt of the mainland to the *Pentland*-Frith,—the Gaelic. In the northern, and the middle diſtricts of the Highlands, the language was ſtill the ſame. From the Moray-Frith to the Forth, through a narrow tract on the coaſt, in which the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes had many centuries ſince eſtabliſhed their manners and their ſpeech; a ſort of dialect, in its character, between the *Anglo-Saxon* and the *Daniſh*, but at the ſame time ſtrongly contaminated with an intermixture of *Gaelic*, was commonly ſpoken. Throughout the extenſive diſtrict of Lothian; and indeed in all the territory from the confines of England to the Friths of the Forth and the Clyde; excepting only the interior parts of Galloway and Carrick; the Anglo-Saxon language was ſtill ſpoken in great purity. The moſt eminent Engliſh minſtrels were ſtill of the South Country, or of a diſtrict comprehending the moſt northern provinces of England, and the moſt ſouthern parts of Scotland; becauſe there only were the Anglo-Saxon manners and language preſerved in

considerable purity. In the service of the Church, in charters and public deeds, and in the enunciation of the laws and acts of Parliament, the Latin language was still used. The vernacular speech of the country was confined in its use to common conversation among the illiterate, and to that less solemn public business, and those less grave literary compositions in which the vulgar and the illiterate were chiefly addressed. Sect. II.

Ballads. It is probable, that many ballads in the common vernacular tongue, were still chaunted by wandering minstrels for the amusement of those who hospitably received and entertained them. These ballads were either versified legends; or the praises of some popular character; or songs of triumph in memory of some victory; or the passionate expression of public indignation against some great man become odious and unpopular; or the bursting voice of hatred, rage, and contempt against an hostile people. *Rhyme*; unknown to the Greeks and Romans, to the Asiatics, and to the Gaelic Bards, had now become the *metre* of European poetry. It *may* have had its origin in the false refinements of an age continually declining in taste and genius,—upon the high-sounding and melodious measures of the poetry of Greece and Rome: But it has been, with greater proba- Rhyme.

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bility, conjectured to have been introduced into the middle and ſouthern parts of Europe, by the barbarous Goths, Franks, or Lombards: It exiſts in ſome of the moſt ancient remains of the poetry of the Anglo-Saxons. As employed in this period by the minſtrels of Scotland and England, it conſiſted in the regularly recurring chime of one or more ſyllables, either at the end, or even at the beginning of two correſponding words, which were ſtill divided from one another by the ſame number of intermediate ſyllables. For *accentuation* and for *quantity*, the minſtrels and their admirers had no delicacy of ear. No ſtandard for the uniform pronunciation of words or ſyllables had as yet been fixed. Except only the rhymes therefore, the verſes of theſe rude poets were abſolutely deſtitute of every other principle of melody. The Monks, charmed with the beauty of rhyme, learned to employ it in their Latin compoſitions. Many ſpecimens of the rhyming Latin poetry of the Monks have been handed down to us. Every thing is ſacrificed in them to the tricks of alliteration, and the tinkling of rhyme. Meaning, conſtruction, force of ſentiment, and power of deſcription are all ſlighted; and nothing is attempted, but the exhibition of an aſſemblage of gingling words. The next object of care to the poet, after the rhyme, was, the enumeration of the ſplendid rarities poſſeſſed by the wealthy. A poem could never gain admiration, in thoſe days,

Latin rhymes.

days, unleſs it told much of gold, and jewels, and precious ſtones, and rich furniture, and ſumptuous feſtivals, and endleſs ceremonies in the mutual intercourſe of the great. Giants, dwarfs, ſoldans, necromancers, fairy palaces, and enchanted caſtles, were alſo among thoſe ſubjects which gave to the ſongs of the minſtrels, the moſt powerful influence over the ſimple wonder of their rude and illiterate hearers. The poetry of any particular age, muſt, in the judgement of the people of that age, always derive its excellence from the ſkilful diſplay of thoſe objects which they are the moſt prone to view with wonder and delight. But, the rude and gorgeous grandeur of the great; all thoſe beings which were believed to people the myſterious world of ſuperſtition; the tale of that opulence which commerce and the cruſading expeditions into Aſia, had juſt begun to make known to the inhabitants of the middle and northern parts of Europe: Theſe were the objects which were the moſt paſſionately deſired or wondered at, by the Scots and their neighbours of this time. Hence, then the origin of that miſerable taſte in poetical compoſition, which their legends and ballads diſplay*.

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Subjects of the poetry of this Age.

Those compoſitions which they wrote ſolely in compliance with the neceſſities of public buſineſs, are leſs deſpicable. The *ſtatutes* of the Parliaments, although expreſſed in impure and incorrect Latin, are

Compoſitions in proſe.

Statutes.

* See Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, &c.

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Charters.

are however sufficiently perspicuous, brief, and precise. The forms of their *contracts*, and *charters* possess the advantage of being much less complicated, verbose, and prolix, than those forms of similar deeds, which are used in modern times. In

Epistles.

some of their public *epistles*, the companions of Bruce appear to have written with the same energy with which they fought. While the style is harsh and uncouth, while facts are often mistaken or misrepresented; there is however an artfulness of persuasion, a cogency of argument, an impressive vehemence of sentiment, such as might well disdain the elegancies of literature the most polished and refined*.

Legends.

It is not to be denied, that, the Clergy did not in this age distinguish themselves by the composition of many very valuable works for the religious and moral instruction of the people. It cannot be alledged that literary pursuits were the darling objects of their regard. But the numerous legends which were repeated among them, discover in some instances, no mean share of richness and fervour of poetic imagination. The legend of the Cave of St Patrick in Ireland, is one of the most interesting of these. This *Cave*, as the legend relates, was discovered by an heavenly messenger to St Patrick, while he laboured by preaching, by benevolent deeds, and by miracles, to convert the Irish from Druidism

The famous legend of *The Cave of St Patrick.*

* Anderson's Diplom.—Rymer's Fœdera:—Ford. *passim.*

Druidiſm to the Chriſtian Faith. The Son of God, at the ſame time revealed to the faithful miſſionary, that whoever ſhould enter that Cave, and ſpend within it the ſpace of a day and a night, ſhould thus obtain the abſolution of all his ſins. A monaſtery was erected by the Saint, beſide the ſacred Cave; and the cuſtody of the Cave was intruſted to the Monks. Its fame had been almoſt forgotten, and its virtues ſlighted; when a certain ſoldier repenting of the crimes of his military life, earneſtly requeſted permiſſion to atone for theſe by the penance of St Patrick's Cave. He was, after ſome difficulty, at length permitted to enter it; and the gate was again ſhut upon him. Advancing, he came to a plain; and on that plain perceived a ſpacious hall. He entered the hall; and for ſome ſhort ſpace, ſurveyed with wonder, the grandeur and beauty of its architecture. But there ſoon entered to him fifteen grave and reverend men, in the habit of Monks. Seating themſelves beſide him, they praiſed the reſolution with which he had entered the Cave; and earneſtly warned him, that in the conflict with devils in which he was about to engage, he muſt certainly periſh, ſoul and body, unleſs he ſhould retain a firm mind, and ſhould from time to time invoke the name of the Lord Jeſus. Having thus warned and encouraged, they left him. Suddenly he heard, around the hall, a yelling, tumultuous noiſe, ſo loud and terrible, as if all the men

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men upon the earth, and all the brute animals, had lifted up their diſcordant voices together. No ſooner had this noiſe alarmed his ears, than a vaſt multitude of hideous dæmons ruſhed impetuouſly into the Hall; ſcoffingly accoſted him; and when they could not by terrour or perſuaſion, drive him from his purpoſe of remaining for the deſtined ſpace of time, within the *Cave*; they then ſeized and dragged him away eaſtward, to torment him. They conducted him to another plain of immenſe extent, where he ſaw a vaſt multitude of men and women of all ages, lying proſtrate on the ground, and having their bodies transfixed with nails of red-hot iron, by which they were faſtened to the earth: Theſe wretched creatures howled bitterly, gnaſhed their teeth, and bit the ground in anguiſh: The dæmons trampled upon them, and tore their fleſh with ſcourges. They would have ſubjected the *ſoldier* to the ſame tortures. But, he invoked the name of Jeſus; and the devils had then for the moment no power over him. From this ſcene however, they forcibly conducted him to another vaſt plain, equally covered with multitudes of ſufferers; but who lay in a ſupine poſture. Fiery dragons hovered over them, and tore their fleſh with their bills: Fiery ſerpents twiſted their folds round their bodies, and with their fangs ſtung them to the heart: Toads uncommonly large, and horribly hideous, crawled upon their

their breasts, and laboured to tear out their hearts: Sect. II.
Dæmons ran about, among them, and scourged them with whips, to embitter and augment their pains. From this sight, the *soldier* was conveyed by his dæmon conductors to another scene, which exhibited a multitude of sinners in torments, whose number was apparently greater than that of all the inhabitants of the earth together. Of these, some hung by chains of fire embracing their feet, legs, hands, or arms, or even fastening them by the head or the hair; others hung upon hooks of red-hot iron, thrust into their ears, nostrils, eyes, jaws, breasts, or testicles; and all amid sulphureous flames; while ministering dæmons still scourged them, as they howled. The wondering soldier was then hurried onwards to where he beheld a vast wheel of red hot iron, having its spokes covered with hooks also of iron equally glowing with heat. On these hung a number of wretches who were at once tortured by the burning hooks, and by a sulphureous flame which arose out of the earth beneath them; while dæmons still turned round it with a degree of velocity that made it seem one whirling ball of fire: Others were transfixed with spits, and roasted before fires, while the dæmons dropped melted metals upon them: Some were burned in furnaces: Some boiled in kettles full of liquid pitch and sulphur. From this scene, the wondering but still resolute *soldier* was

next

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next carried to the ſummit of an exceedingly high mountain, where he ſaw a naked multitude of miſerable ſinners of mankind, expoſed, with all the horrours of death upon their minds, to the chilling blaſts of the North. Suddenly a furious blaſt came upon them, and hurried them, with the *ſoldier* who gazed upon them, from the mountain into a river of cold and fœtid water. When they attempted to ariſe and eſcape out of the ſtream, the dæmons eagerly preſſed them down, and prevented their flight. Only the *ſoldier*, invoking the name of Chriſt, happily reached the bank. He was then quickly conveyed ſouthward by the attending dæmons, to where a noiſome ſulphureous flame was ſeen to ariſe out of a wide and bottomleſs pit: It bore up in its current, the forms of men half-burnt, and like ſo many cinders, yet ſtill alive to the acuteſt feelings of torture. This, ſaid the dæmons, is the mouth of hell, and our place of abode: Here muſt thou for ever abide with us: Enter here, and thou ſhalt periſh, ſoul and body, for ever. The *ſoldier* unaffrighted, would not yet turn back. The dæmons entered the burning pit, hurrying him with them. As they deſcended, its width ſeemed to be continually enlarged. For ſome moments, the *ſoldier* here forgot to call upon the name of Chriſt. At the invocation of that holy name, he was immediately borne aloft by the current of the flame.

He

He was then ſeized by other devils, and carried to a broad and fiery river, over which was a bridge, ſo ſlippery that it was impoſſible to fix the feet upon it, ſo narrow that it was impoſſible to walk upon it, raiſed to ſo awful a height above the flaming ſtream, that, to look down was giddineſs and horrour. The *ſoldier* invoked the name of Jeſus, and walked along the bridge with eaſe and ſafety. His trials were now ended; and the baffled dæmons fled from his preſence. Thus delivered from their temptations, he now looked, and beheld a lofty wall reaching even to heaven, of the moſt admirable architecture, and materials the moſt precious. In the wall was one gate, radiant with precious ſtones, but ſhut. As he approached, the fragrance of waters iſſuing out from it, refreſhed his weary and exhauſted ſpirits, ſo as to reſtore to him the ſame vivid energy of mind and body, as if he had not been expoſed to ſuch terrible trials. The gate was then opened; and there proceeded out of it, in ſolemn proceſſion, a great company of holy perſons, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Monks, and Prieſts, and many others of both ſexes, bearing in their hands crowns of flowers, and branches with golden fruitage, arrayed alſo every one in the garments proper for his character. Theſe, with joyful gratulation, received the *ſoldier*, and conducted him within the gate: As they led him in, they ſang

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with raviſhing harmony, a ſong of praiſe and thankſgiving to God who had given him conſtancy of mind, to meet without ſhrinking, the torments and temptations to which he had been expoſed. The *ſoldier* was then conducted by two Archbiſhops to behold the beauties of that heavenly place. The meadows were enchantingly beautiful. Graſs and flowers and fruits and trees of all ſorts, overſpread the ground in the greateſt profuſion. There night never comes. Multitudes of perſons of both ſexes, and of all ages there continually ſing, in choirs, the praiſes of their Maker and their God. Some wore crowns, as kings; ſome wore garments embroidered richly with gold; ſome wore robes of divers colours. They all rejoiced, each in his own felicity, and in the ſalvation and felicity one of another. They all bleſſed the *ſoldier*, and teſtified their joy at his fortitude, and at his eſcape. There the torrid heat of ſummer or the chilling cold of winter was never felt. They told him that this place was the terreſtrial paradiſe; that here were thoſe firſt received, who paſſed through the purifying pains and fires of purgatory; and that all whom he had ſeen afflicted by the dæmons, ſhould reach this happy place, except thoſe only who had entered within the mouth of the bottomleſs pit. His venerable guides then conducted him up the ſide of a mountain, from the ſummit of which, they ſhewed him, the gate of the celeſtial paradiſe, which he

he beheld with tranſported wonder and admiration. After ſome exhortations to a pious life, they then diſmiſſed him; and he returned, unannoyed by the dæmons, to the hall in which they had firſt aſſailed him. He proceeded then to the gate of the Cave, which was opened to him by, the Monks. His ſubſequent life was pious, and his end happy. Sect. II.

This is one of the fineſt ſpecimens that remain, of the legends which were repeated among the Scottiſh Monks of this age, and of thoſe works of imagination and fancy in which theſe Scots and their contemporaries chiefly delighted.

Proper Names.

The proper Names of perſons, places, and other things to which peculiar denominations are applied; form ever a curiouſly anomalous part of the language of any country. In almoſt all inſtances, they are either of foreign origin; or if of vernacular growth, ſoon loſe to the underſtanding and the ear, their primary ſignification, and ſeem to careleſs conſideration, as if they were not of native deſcent.

First uſe of Proper Names.

Names at their firſt impoſition, in the infancy of language, and of human knowledge, appear to have been always intended as *definitions* or *deſcriptions* more or leſs accurate and complete, of the objects diſtinguiſhed by them. All *appellatives* were

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Origin of appellative names and epithets.

were at firſt *proper names*. Enlarged obſervation, and improving abſtraction, applying thoſe firſt invented *proper names* to a number of ſimilar objects, thus converted them into *appellatives*, and produced a neceſſity for the invention of ſo many new names; each of which might be peculiar to ſome one of thoſe objects which were all comprehended under one common *appellative*; and might, by this means, diſtinguiſh that object, in ſpeech, from all the reſt. Thus aroſe the uſe of *epithets*, which added to *proper names* that had become *appellative*, ſerved to reſtore to them again the force of proper names. Even theſe *epithets* were ſoon alſo generalized in their uſe; and terms more ſuſceptible of peculiar appropriation, were to be again invented. In the progreſs of all languages, it has always become at length neceſſary to employ, for proper names, words otherwiſe not obviouſly ſignificant, and not regularly wrought into the analogy of the language. The fluctuations and revolutions of ſpeech, and of ſocial life, have favoured the accommodation of this neceſſity.

Recapitulation.

Those words then which in every fully formed language, are the moſt ſimple and extenſive *appellatives*, were at the origin of that language, *proper names*, and were the firſt proper names known in it. Its moſt general and familiar *epithets* or *concrete* terms, were the words firſt employed to qualify

lify and reſtrict thoſe names to a proper ſenſe, when they began to become abſtract. After theſe expedients for the proper denomination of things, had failed; words otherwiſe not obviouſly ſignificant began to be the only proper names in common uſe. Sect II.

Uſe of proper names in Scotland.

The progreſs of *proper names* in the language of the Scots, from the earlieſt period of the known impoſition of ſuch names among them, to the end of the thirteenth century; was preciſely ſuch as theſe more general facts deſcribe. Of almoſt all the great rivers and mountains in Scotland, the primary names, in the ancient Gaelic or Anglo-Saxon language, being ſtill preſerved, appear to be ſimple appellatives; the names of the rivers, ſuch as the *Dee*, the *Eſk*, the *Nith*, implying ſolely *water*, or *river*; the names of the mountains, ſuch as *Cairnmore*, *Ben* or *Benin*, ſignifying only *Hill* or *Mountain*. Other names of *rivers*, almoſt equally ancient in their origin, denote ſome peculiar quality in the ſtreams to which they have been reſpectively applied: Such are the *Fleet*, the *Forth*, the *Clyde*, and many others. Theſe laſt names have plainly been impoſed at a later period than were the other names which are more ſimple and general in their ſignification. Thoſe names of mountains which appear to have been of *ſecondary* impoſition, have more frequently retained the prima- Names of places.

ry

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ry name in combination with the qualifying epithet, than have the *ſecondary* names of rivers: *Cruathan-ben*, *Queen berry* or *berg*, *Crofell*, *More-dun*, *Baran-baghle* are inſtances of this. All other names of places in Scotland, ſo ancient as the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century, conſiſt in this manner, ſimply of the *appellative* word in the ancient vernacular language; of the appellative word with the addition of an epithet reſtricting its ſenſe; or of the epithet formed into a new name, without the addition of the appellative.

Names of perſons.

THE *proper names of perſons*, in the ſame period of the Scottiſh Hiſtory, appear to have been impoſed upon principles nearly ſimilar, but under ſome diverſity of circumſtances. The æra had long ſince paſſed, at which mankind were ſo few on the face of the earth, that the word *man* or its repreſentative in any other language, could be a proper name. Individuals of the human ſpecies were next denominated by ſome epithet marking the moſt prominent quality of each man's perſonal character, or ſome remarkable circumſtance in his fortune. And a ſingle name only was beſtowed on each perſon. Such was the faſhion of perſonal denomination among the Scots, at the time when the earlieſt ſignatures of their remaining written deeds were executed. *Duncan*, *Donald*, *Malcolm*, *Robert*, *Duff*, *Roger*, originally denoted ſome perſonal

ſonal qualities in the individuals to whom they were reſpectively applied. But it was natural to transfer the name of the parent to his children; the name of the Lord to his ſlaves; the name of an eſtate to its poſſeſſors. Hence, all the Gaelic names beginning with *Mac*; the Iriſh names beginning with *O'*; the Anglo-Saxon and Daniſh names ending in *Son*. But, the ſacrament of *baptiſm*, adminiſtered to the infant, as the firſt ſolemn rite of religion receiving him into the communion of Chriſtians, was always celebrated with the conferring of a name upon the new-born Chriſtian, by which he was to be ever after known. A name conferred ſo early in life, might indeed expreſs the fond wiſhes and hopes of the parents concerning the future fortune and character of their child, but could not allude to any qualities which the infant had as yet eminently or habitually diſplayed. Names were therefore beſtowed in baptiſm with little regard, to perſonal qualities; and the uſe of *Surnames* was at length adopted in addition to primary names; and theſe *ſurnames* were intended as *epithets*, to qualify and reſtrict the primary name to the particular perſon who was diſtinguiſhed by the firſt name and the *ſurname* together: *Robert*, for inſtance, ſerving, in the name *Robert Bruce*, to diſtinguiſh the individual bearing it, from all *Bruces*, children of the ſame parents; while *Bruce* ſerved Sect. II.

to

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to distinguish the *Robert* of the *Bruce* family from other *Roberts*, bearing different surnames. It appears, that the *Norman* fashion was to denominate persons and families chiefly by surnames derived from their estates; that the Anglo-Saxon custom was, to impose names taken indifferently from the names of estates, of offices, or of ancestors, or from personal qualities; and that the Old Gaelic practice was, to derive the surname of the son, almost always from the name or surname of his father. The first name was now commonly selected out of a large collection of words, which had by degrees come to be appropriated exclusively to this sole purpose. As the names of persons were often derived from the names of places; so were the names of places also taken occasionally from those of their possessors. Hence *Ingleston*, *Kelton*, *Carleton*, *England*, *Scotland*, and a multitude of others, more or less remarkable. It is worthy of observation, that the Norman mode of assuming *surnames*, indicates a state of society in which territory is divided and appropriated; the Gaelic practice refers to the state of wandering unsettled tribes; but the Anglo-Saxon custom, to a condition in which men live together in equal society, practising the arts, but not yet numerous, enlightened, or refined. These different fashions of denomination appear to have been, at this time, almost equally associated, in the practice

practice of the Scots. But the *De* of the Normans, began to be gradually laid aſide*. SECT. II.

SUCH then, was the KNOWLEDGE of the Scots, during that period of their Hiſtory, which we have here ſurveyed. The improvement of their *mechanical*, *military*, and *commercial arts*, had ſomewhat enlarged their acquaintance with the laws of the material world: The continued accumulation of the productions of induſtry, by each ſucceeding generation, co-operated to the ſame end: Thoſe circumſtances in their condition which rouſed them to extraordinary martial activity, and which reduced all ranks to a ſort of equality in danger, and in exertion; ſerved to increaſe the knowledge and mental ability of them all; and to raiſe the peaſant to an equality of intellect with his Lord. Their *moral* knowledge, beſt expreſſed in their moſt prevalent virtues and vices; and in their legiſlative inſtitutions, and the adminiſtration of juſtice among them; had become ſomewhat more correct than in any former period of their Hiſtory; and was now enlarged by an application of its firſt principles to a more extenſive variety of the relations of ſocial life, and of the events in the fortunes of mankind. Recapitulation.

* See Blind Harry:—Barbour:—Fordun:—Rymer's Fœdera:—Anderſon's Diplomata:—Statiſtical Account of Scotland:—And in general all the ſignatures to ancient written deeds.

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kind. The national independence was maintained by a wonderfully firm and enlightened performance of thoſe duties which individuals owed to the *Community* in which they were combined, and by which they were protected. The ancient political ſtructure of the *Community* was ſtill preſerved; and it ſtill continued to protect and cheriſh its members by the miniſtration of the ſame public ſervants which it had anciently employed. The power of the King, if not impaired, was little augmented by the circumſtances peculiar to theſe times. But the power and opulence of the Nobles were greatly increaſed. The unmilitary part of the Nation fell lower in the political ſcale: The Clergy even, ſcarcely maintaining the prerogatives of the Church, amidſt the general predominancy of military virtue over all other advantages. The Clergy had become rather more than leſs enlightened and virtuous, than in former times. Polite literature was little cultivated. The language was a mixture of ſeveral uncouth and barbarous tongues: The art of writing was little known, and but very rudely practiſed. Ballads and legends were the only amuſing compoſitions that were written or admired. The names of places, perſons, and things, began to be reduced to that peculiar and irregular analogy under which they have almoſt ever ſince remained.

IV.

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IV. The Enjoyments of the Scots in this period, were thoſe which are to be found in the ardent diſcharge of the duties of patriotiſm, and in the emotions which ſwell the heart of valour and firm independence of mind; not thoſe which are yielded by the tranquil gratifications and purſuits of peaceful, civil and domeſtic life. Thoſe beſt of enjoyments which are derived from mutual conſtancy and tenderneſs of the ſocial affections, were indeed taſted, in no mean degree by the Scots of this age; but theſe could not be known without bringing with them, all thoſe agonies and ſorrows with which the misfortunes of the objects of its affection, never fail to wound the generous and feeling mind. Who ſhall paint, or even adequately conceive what deep diſtreſs Wallace muſt have felt, when his wife was murthered, as the minſtrel of his fame relates, by the Engliſh? or Bruce, when he learned, at his return from wandering among the weſtern iſles, that his wife was carried away captive, and his brave brothers miſerably ſlain by his foes? Of the Clergy and warriours in general, the condition was not in this period, much more calamitous, than it had been in the foregoing age. But, the women and children, the ſickly and the aged were, during all theſe wars, in a ſtate much more helpleſs, dangerous, and unhappy, than the ſame claſſes had been in, at any other time ſince the reign of David the Firſt. They were aſſailed now by the deſtroying ſword of the invader,

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invader, and now by famine ſtill more terribly afflictive. Inaſmuch, however, as the knowledge of the Scots, in general, was enlarged, and their arts improved; by ſo much was their capacity of refined and exalted enjoyment increaſed. Happineſs is ſomething more than the mere abſence of pain; otherwiſe the vegetable and the angel were alike happy. Meaner natures are not capable of the higheſt pitch of happineſs. *Mind* alone is ſuſceptible of enjoyment. Mind muſt find its higheſt felicity in the fulleſt and cleareſt perception of the good of the univerſe, particularly of thoſe parts of the univerſe which are the moſt immediately within its own ſphere of action; and in the conſcious promoting of this general good of all nature, in the higheſt poſſible degree. Hence is God the happieſt of Beings. Hence do his creatures become ſtill happier, in proportion to the enlargement of their knowledge, the expanſion of their intellects, and the increaſe of their beneficial activity. Hence are mankind ſtill happier and happier in every advancing ſtage of civilization and refinement. And hence were the Scots of the age of Wallace and Bruce neceſſarily happier than their fathers in ſo far as their minds were more enlightened than *theirs* had been. Their *amuſements* were few; the chace; the tournament; the mimic exerciſe of the military arts in peace; the feaſt at which coarſe viands were voraciouſly devoured, and ale or wine drunk to riotous exceſs. *Religion* added much to

their

their happineſs. Its eſtabliſhments were the ſure reſource of want and beggary; its conſolations were ever ready to ſoothe alike miſery of fortune, and wretchedneſs of mind. The enthuſiaſm of patriotiſm and valour was their next beſt reſource for enjoyment. Sect. II.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

CURIOUS EXTRACTS, CHARTERS, &c.

ILLUSTRATING THE NARRATIVE

IN THE

PRECEDING THIRD BOOK.

APPENDIX,

Containing curious and important extracts from the Original Hiſtorians; charters; and ſome other original papers, neceſſary to illuſtrate and confirm the narrative of the preceding book.

The CAVE *of* ST PATRICK.

THE following account of the fabulous cave of St Patrick in Ireland, quoted in the ſecond ſection of the preceding book, is one of the beſt ſpecimens of all the monkiſh legends of this Age.

MAGNUS PATRICIUS, dum in Hybernia verbum Dei prædicaret, & multis ibi miraculorum ſignis coruſcaret, beſtiales illius patriæ homines, terrore Infernalium tormentorum, ac Paradiſi amore gaudiorum, à mortuis ſtuduit revocare. Sed ipſi plano ſermone affirmabant, ſe non converſuros ad Chriſtum, niſi oculata fide priùs conſpicerent quæ promiſit. Unde dum beatus *Patricius* pro ſalute populi in jejuniis, vigiliis, & orationibus poſitus, Dominum precaretur propenſiùs, pius Dei filius apparens ei, duxit eum in locum deſertum, & oſtendit illi ſpeluncam rotundam obſcuram

ſcuram intrinſecùs, & dixit; Quiſquis veraciter pœnitens, & in fide conſtans, hanc ſpeluncam ingreſſus fuerit, ſpatio unius diei ac noctis, ab omnibus in ea purgabitur peccatis, quibus in tota vita ſua Deum offendit: Atque eam ingrediens, non ſolùm tormenta malorum, ſed ſi in Dei dilectione conſtanter perſeveraverit, videbit & gaudia beatorum. Sic Domino diſparente, ſanctus *Patricius*, tam pro Domini apparitione, quàm pro ſpeluncæ oſtentione lætus, ſperabat miſerum Hyberniæ populum ſe ad fidem catholicam converſurum, & in loco illo confeſtim oratorium conſtruens, ſpeluncam, quæ in cæmeterio eſt, ante frontem eccleſiæ circumdedit, & januam cum ſeris appoſuit, nequis eam ſine ejus licentia introiret. Canonicos regulares loco illo introduxit, & Priori eccleſiæ clavem cuſtodiendam commiſit, ſtatuens, ut quicunque Purgatorium ingredi voluerit, ab epiſcopo loci licentiam habeat, & cum literis epiſcopi accedat ad Priorem, & ab eo inſtructus, Purgatorium intret. Multi autem in diebus *Patricii* Purgatorium intraverunt, qui reverſi, teſtati ſunt ſe tormenta gravia pertuliſſe, & gaudia magna ibidem & in enarrabilia conſpexiſſe.

Milite itaque ſupradicto, anguſtiosè nimis ab epiſcopo memorato licentiam poſtulante Purgatorium experiendi, cùm illum cognoviſſet epiſcopus inflexibilem, tradidit ei literas ſuas ad Priorem loci, mandans ut cum illo ageret, ſicut fieri ſolet cum illis qui Purgatorium ingredi depoſcunt. Prior autem viſis literis, militem in eccleſiam perduxit,

duxit, ubi per dies quindecim orationibus devotus instabat, & illis sic diebus elapsis, manè Missâ à Priore celebratâ, sacra communione militem communivit, adductumque speluncæ introitum, aqua eum benedicta asperſit. Et aperto ostio, dixit: Ecce nunc intrabis in nomine Jesu Christi, & per concavitatem speluncæ tamdiu ambulabis, donec in campum exiens, aulam invenies artificiosissimè fabricatam. Quam cùm ingressus fueris, statim ex parte Dei nuncios habebis, qui tibi piè, quid facies indicabunt. Vir autem ille virilem gerens animum, ad pugnam dæmonum audacter prorupit, atque omnium se orationibus commendans, frontem suam vivificæ Crucis signo munivit, & intrepidus portam intravit: Et ostio post eum obserato, Prior cum processione ecclesiam repetivit.

Miles itaque per speluncam audacter progrediens, lumen paulatim totius claritatis amisit. Sed tandem parvo lumine apparente, ad campum prædictum pervenit & aulam. Lux ibi non erat, nisi qualis in vespera hîc habetur. Aula parietes non habebat, sed columnis erat per gyrum subnixa, ut Claustrum solet monachorum. Ingressúsque eam, & intus sedens, oculos studiosè huc illucque convertit, admirans illius pulchritudinem & structuram. Ubi cùm paululùm solus sedisset, ecce quindecim viri quasi religiosi, & nuper rasi, albisque vestibus induti, regiam intraverunt: Et salutantes eum in nomine Domini, consederunt. Tunc aliis tacentibus, unus loquebatur cum ipso, dicens:

dicens : Benedictus sit Deus omnipotens, qui bonum tibi propositum inspiravit, ut pro peccatis tuis Purgatorium hoc intrares : Sed nisi te viriliter habeas, corpore & animâ simul peribis. Mox enim, ut hanc domum fuerimus egressi, multitudo aderit Spirituum immundorum, qui tibi gravia inferentes tormenta, minabuntur inferre graviora. Promittent se ductores te ad portam qua intrâsti, si te decipere possint ut revertaris : Sed si tormentorum afflictione victus, vel minis territus, seu promissione deceptus, assensum eis præbueris, in corpore pariter & anima peribis. Si verò fortis in fide, spem totam in Domino posueris, ut nec tormentis, nec minis, nec promissionibus eorum adquieveris, sed corde integro eos contemseris, ab omnibus purgaberis delictis, & tormenta malorum videbis, & requiem similiter bonorum. Et quotiescunque te cruciaverint, invoca Dominum Jesum Christum, & per invocationem hujus nominis, statim liberaberis à quocunque tormento, in quo eris. Tecum hic amplius esse non possumus, sed Deo te omnipotenti commendamus.

Miles itaque à viris solus relictus, ad novi generis militiam se instruere cœpit. Cumque intrepidus pugnam dæmonum expectaret, subitò cœpit circa domum tumultus audire, ac si omnes homines, qui in mundo sunt, cum animalibus ac bestiis strepuissent. Et post horridum sonum, sequitur terribilior visus dæmonum. Cœpit enim undique dæmonum deformium innumera multitudo in aulam irruere,

ere, & militem deridendo ſalutare. Alii homines (inquiunt) qui nobis ſerviunt, non niſi poſt mortem ad nos veniunt, ſed tu noſtram ſocietatem, cui ſtudiosè deſerviſti in tantum honorare deſideras, quod vivens corpus tuum decernis & animam commendare. Huc veniſti ut pro peccatis tormenta ſuſtineres? Habebis nobiſcum preſſuras & dolores. Veruntamen pro eo, quod nobis curiosè miniſtraſti, ſi reverti volueris ad portam quam intraſti, te ducemus illæſum, ut gaudens in mundo vivas, & omne quod corpori tuo ſuave eſt, penitùs non amittas. Hæc ideò dæmones dixerunt, quia terrore eum & blanditiis decipere voluerunt. Sed miles Chriſti nec terrore concutitur, nec blandimento ſeducitur, dum æquo animo ita eos contempſit, quod tacitè ſedens, nec unum verbum reſpondit. At dæmones ſe contemni indignantes, rogum in aula ingentis incendii ſuccenderunt. Et manus militis pedeſque colligantes, in ignem cum projecerunt, uncis ferreis, huc illucque per incendium detrahentes. Et ille in ignem miſſus, cùm priùs grave tormentum ſenſiſſet, nomen Jeſu Chriſti invocavit, dicens: Jeſu Chriſte miſerere mei. Ad hoc quoque nomen incendium rogi ita extinctum eſt, ut nec totius rogi ſcintilla unica appareret. Quod cernens miles, in animo propoſuit, ut eos de cætero non formidaret, quos invocato Chriſti auxilio, vinci conſpexit.

Relinquentes verò aulam dæmones, militem diutiùs per vaſtam regionem quandam detraxerunt: Nigra erat terra,

terra, & regio tenebroſa. Traxerunt eum dæmones illuc recto tramite, quò ſol oritur in æſtate. Quò convertentes, cœpit miles quaſi vulgi totius orbis miſeros ejulatus audire. Tandem à dæmonibus tractus, in campum pervenit longum & latum, miſeriis ac dolore perplenum, cujus longitudo non potuit tranſvideri. Campus ille hominibus utriuſque ſexus & ætatis diverſæ, nudis & in terra jacentibus ventribus deorſum verſis, plenus erat, quorum corpora ſimul & membra clavis ferreis & ignitis in terram uſque transfixis, miſerabiliter torquebantur. Aliquando autem præ doloris anguſtiâ terram comedebant, clamantes & ejulantes: Parce parce, miſerere miſerere: Cum qui ſui miſeretur, penitùs non adeſſet. Dæmones etiam ſuper miſeros currentes, gravibus eos flagris cædebant, & militi dicebant: Hæc tormenta, quæ vides, ſentiendo patieris, niſi nobis adquieſcas, ut ad portam, per quam intraſti, revertaris, ad quam ſi volueris, paciſicè deduceris. Sed ille ad mentem revocans, qualiter ipſum Deus alibi liberavit, credere eis omninò contempſit. Tunc Dæmones eum in terram proſternentes, ad modum aliorum configere conati ſunt: Sed invocato nomine Jeſu Chriſti, nihil amplius in loco illo, illi facere potuerunt. In alium campum militem trahentes dæmones, hanc ibi differentiam conſpexit, quòd ſicut in campo ſuperiori, homines afflicti ventres habuerunt deorſum verſos, ita in hoc campo dorſa ſolo hærebant. Dracones autem ignei ſuper quoſdam ſedentes, & dentibus eos igneis corrodentes, modo miſerabili affligebant. Aliorum

quoque

quoque colla, brachia, & corpora ſerpentes igniti circumcingentes, aculeos oris ſui igneos eorum cordibus infixerunt. Bufones etiam miræ magnitudinis & horroris, ſuper quorundam pectora incumbentes, deformibus roſtris ſuis, eorum corda extrahere conabantur. Dæmones prætereà ſuper ſingulos curſitantes, & flagris aſperrimis cædentes, miſeros graviter cruciabant, nec unquam à fletu & ejulatu afflicti, ceſſabant. Inde trahentes militem dæmones, in alium pœnalem campum, invenit ibi tantam utriuſque ſexus & ætatis diverſæ multitudinem, ut totius orbis plenitudinem vincere crederetur. Alii ibi pendebant in flammis ſulphureis, igneis cathenis per pedes & tibias immiſſis, & capitibus ad ima demiſſis, allii per manus & brachia, alii per capillos & capita. Alii pendebant in flammis igneis in uncis ferreis & ignitis, per oculos & nares, alii per aures & fauces, alii per teſticulos & mammillas. Nec inter fletus miſeros univerſorum & ejulatus, flagella dæmonum defuerunt. Cumque militem hîc ſicut in aliis pœnis, inimici torquere voluiſſent, nomen Chriſti invocavit, & illæſus evaſit.

Ab illo pœnali loco, Dæmones militem impellentes, venerunt ad rotam quandam ferream & ignitam, cujus radii & canthi, uncis ferreis & igneis erant undique circumfixi. In quibus homines pendentes, à flamma tetri ſulphureique incendii, quæ à terra ſurgebat, graviter urebantur. Hanc enim rotam dæmones tanta agilitate impingebant vectibus quibuſdam

quibuſdam ferreis, ut nullum omninò hominem, ab alio poſſis diſcernere: Quia præ nimia curſus celeritate nihil niſi ignis incendium apparebat Nec minori tormento vexabantur hi, qui verubus transfixi, ad ignem affati deguttabantur à dæmonibus, ex metallis liquefactis, vel fornacibus cremabantur, ſeu illi, qui in ſartaginibus frigebantur. Vidit prætereà miles, trahentibus eum miniſtris tartareis, domum innumeris caldariis, plenumque piceis ſulphureiſque liquaminibus, ac diverſis repletam bullientibus metallis, homines conditionis & utriuſque ætatis continentem. Quorum quidam ex toto, quidam uſque ſupercilia & oculos, alii uſque ad labia & colla, alii ad pectus uſque & fœmora, alii ad genua uſque & crura, alii manum unam vel pedem, alii ambas manus & pedes in caldariis tenebant, & omnes præ doloris anguſtia vociferabant, ac miſerabiliter ejulabant. Et cum cœpiſſent dæmones militem cum aliis ſubmergere, liberatus eſt Chriſti nomine invocato.

Unde dæmones militem in montem excelſum impellentes, oſtenderunt ei utriuſque ſexus homines & ætatis diverſæ multitudinem copioſam, qui omnes nudi ſedebant, & ſuper digitos pedum curvati, & ad aquilonem verſi, quaſi mortem perterriti, expectabant. Et ecce ſubitò ventus turbinis vehementis, ab aquilone veniens, ipſos omnes & cum eis militem arripuit, & in aliam montis partem, in flumen frigidum & fœtidum, flentes & vociferantes, projecit Et cum de aqua frigidiſſima ſurgere conarentur, dæmones ſu-

per aquam currentes, in ipso omnes flumine submerserunt. At miles Christi nomen invocavit, & confestim in alia se ripa invenit. Tunc dæmones illum contra Austrum trahentes, & ostendentes flammam teterrimam, & fœtore sulphureo plenam, de puteo quodam ascendentem, & homines nudos & quasi igneos, velut scintillas igneas in aërem sursum compellentem, & flammarum vi deficiente, iterum in ignem & puteum relabi. At dæmones militi dixerunt: Puteus iste flammivomus, introitus est inferni, ubi nostrum habitaculum est: Et quoniam nobis hucusque studiosè servisti, hîc nobiscum sine fine manebis: Et si hunc puteum ingressus fueris, in anima pariter & corpore peribis. Sed tamen si adhuc nobis consentire volueris, & revertaris ad portam qua intrasti, illæsus redibis. Ille autem de Dei adjutorio confisus, qui eum toties liberaverat, eorum exhortationes contempsit. Tunc dæmones indignati, projecerunt se in ignem putei, & secum militem intruserunt: Et quò miles in eo profundiùs descendit, eò latiorem puteum conspexit, & pœnam in illo graviorem sensit. In puteo quoque illo miles tantam angustiam sensit & miseriam, ut diu oblitus sit sui adjutoris. Sed Deo tandem illum respiciente, nomen Jesu Christi invocavit, & protinus vis flammæ eum in aërem sursum levavit, ubi in descensione putei aliquandiu attonitus stetit. Sed ecce novi dæmones ex ore putei prorumpentes, dixerunt: Et tu qui hîc stas, cui socii nostri dixerunt, hunc esse infernum, non ita fore scias: Nam consuetudinis nostræ est semper mentiri, ut quos de-

cipere non poſſumus per verum, decipiamus per falſum: Hic non eſt infernus, ſed nunc te ad infernum ducimus.

Trahentes igitur militem, hoſtes novi, cum tumultu horriſono, ad flumen quoddam fœtidum, latiſſimum, ac totum flamma ſulphureo incendio coopertum, dæmonumque multitudine repletum, dicentium ei, quòd ſub flumine illo eſſet infernus. Pons verò protendebatur ultra flumen, in quo tria quaſi impoſſibilia videbantur: Unum, quòd ita lubricus erat, ut etiamſi latus eſſet, nullus vel vix aliquis, in eo pedem figere poſſet. Aliud quòd adeò ſtrictus erat, quòd nullus in eo ſtare vel ambulare valebat. Tertium quòd ita altus eſt, & à flumine remotus, quòd horrendum erat deorſum aſpicere. Oportet te inquiunt dæmones, ſuper pontem hunc ambulare, & ventus ille qui te projecit aliâs, flumen projiciet in iſtud. Et confeſtim à ſociis noſtris, qui in flumine ſunt, capieris, & in profundum Inferni demergeris. Sed miles invocato nomine Jeſu Chriſti, pontem audacter ingreſſus, cœpit pedetentim ſuper pontem incedere, & quo ampliùs proceſſit in eo, tanto viam largiorem invenit: Unde pontis latitudo in brevi ita crevit, ut viæ publicæ amplitudinem præferret. Porrò dæmones conſpicantes militem tam liberè ſuper pontem incedere, vocibus ſuis prophanis ita horridè aërem concuſſerunt, quòd ſtridore illo magis erat attonitus, quàm illatione tormentorum, quæ priùs fuerat à dæmonibus perpeſſus. Alii hoſtes, qui ſub ponte in flumine erant, uncos ſuos ferreos

&

& ignitos projecerunt ad illum, ſed militem tangere nequeverunt. Et ſic demum ſecurè proceſſit, quia nihil ſibi contrarium invenit.

Miles itaque invictus jam liber factus à vexatione Spirituum immundorum, vidit ante ſe murum altum, & in aërem evectum, mirabilis & ſtructuræ impreciabilis, in quo portam unam, ſed tamen clauſam cernebat: Hæc metallis ac pretioſis exornata lapidibus, ſplendore admirabili radiabat. Ad quam cùm miles appropinquaret, contra ipſum aquæ tantæ ſuavitatis odor ei occurrens exivit, ut viribus corporis reſumptis, tormenta quæ pertulerat, ſibi in refrigerium verterentur. Egreſſa eſt autem contra eum venientem, cum crucibus, cereis & vexillis, ac velut palmarum aurearum ramis, tam ordinata proceſſio, quòd nunquam talis viſa fuerat in hoc mundo. Sequebantur prædicta de omnibus ordinibus utriuſque ſexus homines, quorum Archiepiſcopi alii, & Epiſcopi, & Abbates, Monachi & Preſbyteri, ac ſingulorum eccleſiæ graduum miniſtri, qui omnes ſacris veſtibus & ſuis ordinibus congruis induti, militem cum jucunda veneratione ſuſceperunt, atque cum concentu harmoniæ inauditæ infra portam ſecum fœliciter conduxerunt. Finito itaque concentu, duo Archiepiſcopi cum eo loquentes, benedixerunt Deum, qui tanta conſtantia in tormentis, per quæ tranſierit quæ pertulit, ejus animam confirmavit. Illis igitur militem per patriam conducentibus, invenerunt & illi oſtenderunt prata amœniſſima diverſis

verſis floribus, fructibuſque & herbarum arborumq; multiformium decorata, ex quorum ſuavitatis odore, ut ſibi viſum eſt, vivere potuiſſet. Nox illam aliquando non obnubilat, quia ſemper cœleſti quadam claritate & ineffabili ſplendore coruſcat. Tantam ibi hominum utriuſque ſexus vidit multitudinem, quantam reſiduum ſæculi credidit continere non poſſe. Chori choris per loca aſtiterunt, ac dulcis harmoniæ concentu, creatorem omnium laudaverunt. Alii quaſi Reges corona incedebant, alii amictu aureo induti videbantur, nonnulli variis indumentis erant decorati, juxta quod unuſquiſque in ſæculo utebatur. Singuli de propria fœlicitate gaudebant, ſinguli de aliorum liberatione & gaudio exultabant. Omnes qui militem intuebantur, de ejus adventu Dominum benedicebant, & de ejus ereptione à mortuis congaudebant. Non æſtum, non frigus ibi aliquis ſentiebat, nec quicquam quod offendere poſſet vel nocere, videbat.

Tunc ſancti pontifices, qui militi patriam tam præclaram oſtenderant, dixerunt ei: quoniam miſericordia Dei ad nos illæſus perveniſti, rationem à nobis audire debes, de ſingulis quæ vidiſti. Patria hæc terreſtris eſt paradiſus, unde pro peccatis ſuis ejectus eſt homo primus, hinc verò expulſus in miſeriam illam projectus eſt, in qua homines moriuntur, ex cujus carne nos omnes propagati, & in peccato originali omnes nati, per fidem Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, quam in baptiſmate ſuſcepimus, ad hunc paradiſum reverſi

ſumus.

ſumus. Et quoniam poſt fidei ſuſceptionem, innumeris actualibus ſumus implicati peccatis, non niſi per purgationem peccatorum & afflictionem pœnarum huc potuimus pervenire. Pœnitentiam enim, quam ante mortem vel morientes ſuſcepimus, & in ſæculo non peregimus, in locis quæ vidiſti pœnalibus, juxta modum & quantitatem culparum per tormenta reſtant luenda. Omnes enim qui hîc ſumus, in locis illis pœnalibus fuimus pro peccatis. Et omnes, quos in pœnis vidiſti, præter eos, qui infra os putei Infernalis exiſtunt, ad hanc requiem pervenient, & tandem ſalvi fient. Omni namque die inde aliqui purgati ad nos veniunt, quos in hanc requiem ſicut & fecimus te introducimus venientes, nec noſtrum aliquis novit, quàmdiu hic moraturus ſit. Per miſſas verò, Pſalmos, eleemoſynas & orationes eccleſiæ generalis, & per ſpecialia amicorum auxilia, aut purgandorum tormenta mitigantur, aut de ipſis ſuppliciis ad minora transferuntur, donec pœnitùs liberentur. Ecce ut vides, hic in magna quiete ſumus, ſed nondum tamen ad ſupernam cœli lætitiam aſcendere ſumus digni. Tranſibimus hinc poſt ſpatium à Deo ſingulis conſtitutum, in paradiſum cœleſtem, ſicut Deus providerit.

Deinde præſules venerandi, militem in montem declivem ducentes, juſſerunt ut aſpiceret ſurſum. Quo cùm aſpiceret, interrogabant, cujuſmodi coloris cœlum eſſet, reſpectu loci in quo ſtetit. Qui reſpondit: colori ſimile eſſe auri in fornace ardentis. Hoc inquiunt, quod nunc vides,

vides, introitus est cœli & cœlestis Paradisi. Quando enim aliqui à nobis recedunt, hinc in cœlum ascendunt. Et quamdiu hic manemus, quotidiè semel pascit nos cibo cœlesti Deus. Et quali hic pascamur cibo, nobiscum senties jam gustando. Vix sermone finito, & ecce quasi radius flammæ ignis de cœlo descendens, patriam totam cooperuit, & quasi per radios super capita singulorum subsidens, flamma demum tota in eis intravit. Unde miles tantam dulcedinis in corde simul & corpore sensit suavitatem, quòd vix intellexit, utrum vivus an mortuus fuisset: Sed hora illa in momento transivit. Sed miles libenter ibi mansisset, si ibi iis deliciis frui licuisset. Sed post talia tantáque jucunda, ei tristia referuntur. Quoniam inquiunt sancti præsules, & requiem beatorum, ut desideresti, & tormenta malorum nunc pro parte conspexisti, oportet te jam, ut per eam viam, qua veneras, revertaris. Si autem, quod absit, malè vixeris, amodò ad sæculum reversus, vidisti quanta te expectant tormenta. Si verò benè vixeris & religiosè, securus esto: Quia huc ad nos pervenies, quando de corpore exibis. In isto quoque reditu quo nunc reverteris, nec dæmonum tormenta formidabis, quia dæmones ad te non audebunt accedere, nec tormenta tibi poterunt, quæ vidisti, nocere. Tunc miles flens & ejulans ait, hinc discedere non valeo, quia valdè timeo, ne per fragilitatem humanæ miseriæ aliquid delinquam, quod me impediat huc redire. Non inquiunt, sicut tu vis, erit, sed sicut ille, qui & nos & te fecit voluerit, ita fiet. Mœrens igitur

igitur & lugens miles ab eis reducitur ad portam, & eo contra voluntatem ſuam egreſſo, clauditur porta poſt ipſum.

Miles igitur *Oenus*, via qua venerat reverſus, ad aulam præfatam pervenit. Sed dæmones quos in ipſo reditu ſuo vidit, quaſi timentes eum fugerunt, & tormenta per quæ tranſiit, ei nocere nequiverunt. Et confeſtim cùm aulam intraſſet, occurrunt ei quindecim viri ſupradicti, glorificantes Deum, qui tantam illi contulerat conſtantiam in tormentis. Oportet te (inquiunt militi) ut quantoties hinc aſcendas, jam enim in patria tua clareſcit aurora, & niſi portam, Prior aperiens, te invenerit, de reditu tuo deſperans, obſerata porta, ad eccleſiam revertetur. Sicque miles benedictione percepta, ab eis aſcendere feſtinavit & hora eadem, qua portam Prior aperuit, miles ei feſtinus veniens, obviavit. Quem cum Chriſti laudibus Prior ſuſcipiens, in eccleſiam perduxit, ubi cùm per dies quindecim in oratione permanſiſſet, ſignaculum crucis accepit, & in terram ſanctam devotus proficiſcens, ſepulchrum Domini cum locis aliis venerabilibus, in ſancta contemplatione petivit. Et inde expleto laudabiliter peregrinationis voto, reverſus, Regem *Stephanum* dominum ſuum adiit, conſulturus, ut ejus conſilio, in ſanctæ religionis ordine reliquum vitæ ſuæ expleret, ac Regi Regum omnium de cætero militaret. Contigit autem eo tempore, quod *Gervaſius* Ludenſis cœnobii Abbas, Rege Anglorum *Stephano* donante, locum ad Abbatiam

Abbatiam conſtruendam in Hybernia obtineret. Qui monachum ſuum nomine *Gilebertum* ad Regem direxit, ut ab eo locum ſuſciperet, & ibi conſtrueret Abbatiam. At *Gilebertus* ad Regem veniens, conqueſtus eſt nimis, quòd patriæ illius linguam non novit. Sed inquit Rex, bonum tibi interpretem Deo auxiliante, inveniam. Et vocato milite *Oeno*, juſſit Rex ut cum *Gileberto* iret, & cum ipſo in Hybernia remaneret. Quod miles gratanter annuens, cum dicto *Gileberto* remanſus, & ſatis ei devotus miniſtrans, monachalem habitum ſuſcipere voluit: Quia ſervus eſſet, quem Dominus præelegit. Tranſeuntes autem in Hyberniam, Abbatiam conſtruxerunt: Ubi miles *Oenus*, interpres monachi, devotus extitit, & in omnibus agendis miniſter fidelis. Quandocunque verò monachus ſolus alicubi cum milite fuit, de ſtatu purgatorii & pœnis mirabilibus, quas viderat & experto didicerat, curiosè ab eo quæſivit. At ille qui nunquam audire potuit de purgatorio loqui, quin prorumperet in fletum amariſſimum, cœpit ſub ſigillo ſecreti, amico pro ædificatione, ea que audierat, viderat, & experimentis didicerat, enarrare: Affirmans ſeſe omnia corporeis oculis conſpexiſſe. Hujus autem monachi induſtria & diligentia, hujus militis experientia redacta eſt in Scripturam, ſimul cum relatione epiſcoporum regionis, & aliorum religioſorum, qui cauſa juſtitiæ perhibuerunt teſtimonium veritati.

No. II.

THE following is a copy of the celebrated epiſtle, addreſſed to the Pope, from Robert Bruce and the Scottiſh Parliament, aſſembled at Aberbrothwick. It beſpeaks the magnanimous ſpirit, and the clear moral intelligence of the Scottiſh Nation, better than any other public deed of the Age. It is indeed, one of the moſt intereſting authentic papers that have been preſerved to us in the hiſtory of Europe.

SANCTISSIMO patri in Chriſto ac domino, domino Johanni, divinâ providentiâ ſacroſanctæ Romanæ et univerſalis eccleſiæ ſummo pontifici; filii ſui humiles et devoti, *Duncanus* comes de Fyfe, *Thomas Ranulphi* comes Moraviæ, dominus Manniæ et vallis Anandiæ, *Patricius de Dumbar* comes Marchiæ, *Maliſius* comes de Stratheryne, *Malcolmus* comes de Levenax, *Willelmus* comes de Roſs, *Magnus* comes Cathaniæ et Orcadiæ, et *Willelmus* comes Suthirlandiæ, *Walterus* ſeneſcallus Scotiæ, *Willelmus de Sowlis* butlarius Scotiæ, *Jacobus* dominus de Douglas, *Rogerus de Moubray*, *David* dominus de Brechyn, *David de Graham*, *Ingelramus de Umphraville*, *Johannes de Meneteth* cuſtos comitatûs de Meneteth, *Alexander Fraſer*, *Gilbertus de Haya* conſtabularius Scotiæ, *Robertus de Keth* mareſcallus Scotiæ,

Henricus de Sancto-clara panetarius Scotiæ, *Johannes de Graham*, *David de Lindesay*, *Willelmus Oliphaunt*, *Patricius de Graham*, *Johannes de Fentona*, *Willelmus de Abirnithy*, *David de Wemys*, *Willelmus de Monte-fixo*, *Fergusius de Ardrossane*, *Eustachius de Maxwell*, *Willelmus de Ramesay*, *Willelmus de Monte-alto*, *Alanus de Moravia*, *Dovenaldus Cambell*, *Johannes Cambrun*, *Reginaldus le Chen*, *Alexander de Seton*, *Andreas de Lescelyn*, et *Alexander de Straton*, ceterique barones et libere-tenentes, ac tota communitas regni Scotiæ, omnimodam reverentiam filialem cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum. Scimus, sanctissime pater et domine, et ex antiquorum gestis et libris colligimus, quòd inter ceteras nationes egregias nostra, sciz. Scottorum, natio multis præconiis fuerit insignita: quæ majori Scythia per mare Tyrrhenum et Columnas Herculis transiens, et in Hispania inter ferociſſimos per multa temporum curricula residens, à nullis, quantumcunque barbaris, poterat alicubi gentibus subjugari. Indeque veniens, post mille et ducentos annos à transitu populi Israëlitici, sibi sedes in Occidente, quas nunc obtinet, expulsis Britonibus, et Pictis omnino deletis, licet per Norwagienſis, Dacos, et Anglicos sæpiùs impugnata fuerit, multis sibi victoriis et laboribus quamplurimis acquisivit; ipsasque ab omni servitute liberas, ut priscorum testantur historiæ, semper tenuit. In quorum regno centum et tresdecim reges de ipsorum regali prosapia, nullo alienigenâ interveniente, regnaverunt. Quorum nobilitates et merita, licet ex aliis non clarerent, satis patenter effulgent ex eo,

quòd Rex regum et Dominus Jesus Christus, post passionem et resurrectionem suam, ipsos, in ultimis terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos ad suam fidem sanctissimam convocavit: nec eos per quemlibet in dicta fide confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum Apostolum vocatione, quamvis ordine secundum vel tertium, scilicet Andream, mitissimum beati Petri germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut patronum.

Hæc autem sanctissimi patres et prædecessores vestri sollicitâ mente pensantes, ipsum regnum et populum, ut beati Petri germani peculium, multis favoribus et privilegiis quamplurimis munierunt: ita quòd gens nostra sub ipsorum protectione libera hactenus deguit et quieta, donec ille princeps magnificus rex Anglorum Eadwardus, pater istius qui nunc est, regnum nostrum acephalum, populumque nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum, sub amici et confœderati specie inimicabiliter infestavit. Cujus injurias, cædes et violentias, prædationes, incendia, prælatorum incarcerationes, monasteriorum combustiones, religiosorum spoliationes et occisiones, alia quoque enormia quæ in dicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut sexui, religioni aut ordini, nullus scriberet, nec ad plenum intelligeret, nisi quem experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumeris, ipso juvante qui post vulnera medetur et sanat, liberati sumus per strenuissimum principem, regem et dominum nostrum, *D. Robertum*, qui, pro populo

et

et hereditate ſuis de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quaſi alter Macchabæus aut Joſue, labores et tædia, inedias et periculo læto ſuſtinuit animo : quem etiam Divina diſpoſitio, et juxta leges et conſuetudines noſtras, quas uſque ad mortem ſuſtinere volumus, juris ſucceſſio et *Debitus* noſtrornm omnium conſenſus et aſſenſus noſtrum fecerunt principem atque regem. Cui, tanquam illi per quem ſalus in populo noſtro facta eſt, pro noſtra libertate tuenda, tam jure quàm meritis tenemur, et volumus in omnibus adhærere. Quem ſi ab inceptis deſiſteret, et regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos aut regnum noſtrum volens ſubjicere, tanquam inimicum noſtrum, et ſui noſtrique juris ſubverſorem, ſtatim expellere niteremur, et alium regem noſtrum, qui ad defenſionem noſtram ſufficeret, faceremus : quia *Quamdiu Centum Vivi Remanſerint, Nunquam Anglorum Dominio Aliquatenus Volumus Subjugari.* Non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, ſed propter libertatem ſolummodo, *quam nemo bonus, niſi ſimul cum vita, amittit.* Hinc eſt, reverende pater et domine, quòd ſanctitatem veſtram omni precum inſtantiâ, genuflexis cordibus exoramus, quatenus ſincero corde menteque piâ recenſentes, quòd, apud eum cujus vices in terris geritis, non ſit pondus et pondus, nec diſtinctio Judæi et Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes et anguſtias nobis et eccleſiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes, regem Anglorum, cui ſufficere debet quod poſſidet, cùm olim Anglia ſeptem aut pluribus ſolebat ſufficere regibus, monere et exhortari dignemini,

nemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotia, ultra quam habitatio non eſt, nihilque niſi noſtrum cupientes, in pace dimittat. Cui, pro noſtra procuranda quiete, quicquid poſſumus, ad ſtatum noſtrum reſpectu habito, facere volumus cum effectu. Veſtra enim intereſt, ſancte pater, hoc facere, qui Paganorum feritatem, Chriſtianorum culpis exigentibus, in Chriſtianos ſævientem aſpicitis, et Chriſtianorum terminos arctari indies; quantumque veſtræ ſanctitatis memoria derogat, ſi, quod abſit, eccleſia in aliqua ſui parte veſtris temporibus patiatur eclipſim aut ſcandalum, vos videritis. Excitet igitur Chriſtianos principes, qui non cauſam ut cauſam ponentes, ſe fingunt in ſubſidium Terræ Sanctæ, propter guerras quas habent cum proximis, ire non poſſe. Cujus impedimenti cauſa eſt verior, quòd in minoribus proximis debellandis utilitas propior, et reſiſtentia debilior æſtimatur. Sed quàm læto corde dictus dominus rex noſter et nos, ſi rex Anglorum nos in pace dimitteret, illuc iremus, qui nihil ignorat ſatis novit: quod Chriſti vicario totique Chriſtianitati oſtendimus et teſtamur. Quibus ſi ſanctitas veſtra, Anglorum relatibus nimis credula, fidem ſinceram non adhibeat, aut ipſis in noſtram confuſionem favere non deſinat, corporum excidia, animarum exitia, et cetera quæ ſequentur incommoda, quæ ipſi in nobis et nos in ipſis fecerimus, vobis ab Altiſſimo credimus imputanda; Ex quo ſumus et erimus, in his quæ tenemur, tanquam obedientiæ filii vobis, tanquam ipſius vicario, parati in omnibus complacere, ipſique, tanquam

Summo

Summo Regi et Judici, cauſam noſtram tuendam committimus, cogitatum noſtrum jactantes in ipſo, ſperanteſque firmiter quòd in nobis virtutem faciet et ad nihilum rediget hoſtes noſtros. Sanctitatem ac ſanitatem veſtram conſervet Altiſſimus eccleſiæ ſuæ ſanctæ per tempora diuturna. Dat. apud monaſterium de Abirbrothoc in Scotia, ſexto die Aprilis, anno gratiæ milleſimo trecenteſimo viceſimo, anno verò regni regis noſtri ſupradicti quinto decimo.

No. III.

THE following Leonine verſes written by William Baſton, the monk, on the battle of Bannockburn, have appeared worthy of inſertion here. Baſton came to ſing the glories of Edward; but was compelled to celebrate the triumph of Bruce. Theſe verſes are an original record of the events of the battle; and a curious monument of the taſte of the Age.

METRA DE ILLUSTRI BELLO DE BANOKBURN.

De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo:
Riſum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo.
Rector cœleſtis, adhibens ſolamina mœſtis,
Verax eſt teſtis, qui proſpera ferre poteſt his,

Quos

Quos vincit reſtis, pro ſindone ſordida veſtis.
Ploro ſub his geſtis, perimit quos torrida peſtis.
Bella parata fleo, lamentans ſub canopeo,
Sub quo rege reo, neſcio, teſte Deo.
Eſt regnum duplex, et utrumque cupit dominari;
Sed neutrum ſupplex vult à reliquo ſuperari.
Dum ſe ſic jactant cum Baccho nocte jocando,
Scotia, te mactant, verbis vanis reprobando.
Dormitant, ſtertunt, quos irrita ſomnia mutant,
Fortes ſe putant, patriæ confinia vertunt.
Explicat exercitus ſplendentia ſigna per arva:
Jam ſunt diſperſi, nimis eſt virtus ſua parva.
Fulminat ad bella præco, clamans dira novella:
Fellea ſunt mella, tantâ durante procellâ.
Nunc armatornm diſponunt geſta virorum,
Ne gens Anglorum vires enervat eorum.
Tu fer vexillum, quo Scoti terrificentur,
Agmina poſt illum belli pro more ſequentur.
Arcitenens arcus tendas, nec ſis modo parcus,
Illic tranſmittas hoſtes perimendo ſagittas:
Iſthac tu tela vibres, quaſi fulgur, anhela
Non te protela, mortem feriendo revela.
Obviet hic illis cum fundis atque lapillis,
Pandens veſana, faciendo concava plana;
Et loca tu ſiſte, tendantur ut arte baliſtæ.
Examen triſte populus denunciat iſté.

Haſtæ

Haſtæ tolluntur, patriæ ſatrapes rapiuntur :
Sic diſponuntur, quòd multi multa loquuntur.
Format et informat rex Scotus prælia dira,
Sunt equites, pedites, O quàm congreſſio mira !
Clamat rex, animat Scotorum nobiliores,
Citat et invitat ad bella viros potiores :
Cernit, diſcernit acies pro marte paratas,
Tales mortales gentes cenſet ſuperatas.
Fatur, ſolatur turbas populi venientis,
Riſit, deriſit Anglorum fœdera gentis.
Fortis dux mortis digitos ad bella docebat,
Servis protervis, nulli deferre jubebat.
Lætus ſit cœtus, ſcitis rumoribus iſtis,
Stabit, pugnabit, ſic fiet Anglia triſtis.
Rex fortes unit, et cunctis dat ſua jura,
Quos armis munit, prædicens bella futura.
Imbre ſagittali minuatur ab inguine ſanguis,
Turbine lethali ſtimulet jaculator ut anguis.
Haſta teres fodiat proceres ſpargendo cruorem,
Miſſilibus cum pernicibus renovando dolorem.
Timba ſecuri pectora cruri ſcindere curet ;
Tela vibrabit, ſic ſuperabit, ſi bene duret.
Mucro latet, nil poſſe patet pro marte valere.
Sors præterit quibus omen erit ſupplenda replere.
Machina plena malis pedibus formatur equinis,
Concava cum palis, ne pergant abſque ruinis.

Plebs

Plebs foveas fodit, ut per eas labantur equeſtres,
Et pereant ſi quos videant tranſire pedeſtres.
Advena turba vocatur, Scotica gens numeratur,
Prima phalanx ſociatur, regia vis comitatur.
Scandere nullus eorum terga valebit equorum;
Fient ſic aliorum plures domini dominorum.
Exploratores mittunt hinc inde potentes,
Multos rumores ſunt inter ſe referentes.
Dira dies ſolis pandit primordia molis,
Angligenæ prolis, hinc exit ab ore ſuo lis.
Arida terra gerit Strivelini prælia prima,
Splendida turba ferit, ſed tandem tendit ad ima.
Eſt dolor immenſus, augente dolore dolorem,
Eſt furor accenſus, ſtimulante furore furorem.
Eſt clamor creſcens, feriente priore priorem;
Eſt valor areſcens, fruſtrante valore valorem:
Eſt calor ardeſcens, urente calore calorem;
Eſt gens demeſcens, reprobante minore minorem.
Eſt ſtupor auditus, geminante ſtupore ſtuporem.
Eſt populus tritus, perdente tenore tenorem.
Surgit rugitus, fundente cruore cruorem,
Nunc timor eſt ſcitus, metuente timore timorem.
Atra dies lunæ peſtem renovat nocituram,
Quam vi fortunæ facit Anglis Scotia duram.
Anglicolæ, quaſi cœlicoliæ, ſplendore niteſcunt,
Magnanimi, tanquam minimi, ſub nube quieſcunt.

Exſpectat, ſpectat gens Anglica quos nece plectat
Admotos Scotos ab eis non longe remotos.
Plebs plangit, clangit; ſed quam congreſſio tangit,
Nunc plangit, frangit vires quas ictibus angit.
Magnifici modici Scotorum ſunt inimici;
Munifici medici poterit victoria dici.
Inſultus ſtultus prætenditur ordine cultus,
Singultus multus erumpit ab aggere vultus.
Deſcendens, frendens, pedibus gens Scotica tendens,
Defendens, vendens ſua prodit dira rependens.
Hic rapit, hic capit, hic terit, hic ferit: ecce dolores!
Vox tonat, æs ſonat, hic ruit, hic luit, arcta modo res.
Hic ſecat, hic necat, hic docet, hic nocet, iſte fugatur,
Hic latet, hic patet, hic premit, hic gemit, hic ſuperatur,
Hic fremit, hic tremit, hic pavet, hic cavet, iſte ligatur,
Hic legit, hic tegit, hic metit, hic petit, hic ſpoliatur:
Creſcit inedia, corpora, prædia diripiuntur,
Heu! mulieres, miles et heres inficiuntur.
Clare comes, venerande fomes, Glovernice cultor,
Heu! moreris, ſub ſtrage peris, ſic fit Deus ultor.
Trux Cliffordenſis mucrone retunderis enſis,
Ictibus immenſis ruis hoſtibus undique denſis.
Miles Marſcallus Willelmus, in agmine fortis,
Scotorum callus tibi pandit vulnera mortis.
Audax Edmunde Mauley probitate virilis,
Te gens hoſtilis ſuperat feritatis abunde.

Belliger

Belliger insignis, Tibetoyt, quasi fervidus ignis
Ensibus et lignis cadis, instat mors tua signis.
Nobilis Argenten, pugil inclite, dulcis Ægidi,
Vix scieram mentem, cum te succumbere vidi.
Quid fruar ambage? de tanta quid cano strage?
Vix poterit tragœdia pandere schismata plagæ.
Nomina bellantum mea mens nescit numerare,
Quot, quæ, vel quantum mors novit ibi violare.
Multi mactantur, multi jaculis terebrantur,
Multi merguntur, multi vivi capiuntur.
Boves stringuntur, et munera multa petuntur,
Jam sunt ditati per eos et magnificati,
Qui primò strati fuerant velut apporiati,
Per gyrum finis loca sunt vallata rapinis;
Verba repleta minis replicantur et aucta ruinis.
Nescio quid dicam, quam non sevi meto spicam,
Linquo doli tricam, pacem colo juris amicam.
Qui curat plura, scribendi sit sibi cura;
Est mea mens dura, rudis est vox, ima litura.

Sum Carmelita, Baston cognomine dictus,
Qui doleo vita, in tali strage relictus.
Si quid deliqui, si quæ recitanda reliqui,
Hæc addant hi qui non sunt sermonis iniqui.

No. IV.

THE following is the production of another Rhymer, celebrating the ſame battle of Bannockburn.

De quodam metro belli de Bannok.

M. Semel et C. ter, ſimul X. I. jungito quater,
Nato Baptiſtâ, nova gratia contigit iſta,
Quòd rex Scotorum, peditum cum parte ſuorum,
Anglos proſtravit, equites cum rege fugavit.
Rivulus eſt ſuper hoc teſtis cognomine Bannok.
In quo ſubmerſa jacuerunt corpora verſa:
Quo rex Anglorum, numero fidendo ſuorum,
Armatis populis equitum ter millibus centis,
Et peditum turmis circundatus numeroſis,
Scotos aggreditur, et eos delere molitur,
Recurſum facere caſtro cupiens Strivelinæ.
Te, Strivelina, commendant prælia bina:
Gens vi divinâ cadit Anglica, teſte ruinâ.
Turba ruit procerum, cadit hîc utroque dierum
Ad magnum numerum. Fit ibi diſperſio rerum.

Gens

Gens cadit Anglorum, fugit et rex triſtis eorum.
Stat rex Scotorum, fervens in amore ſuorum:
Hic relevat jura, quæ jam fuerant peritura;
Pervigili curâ tollit rex noxia plura.
Anniſus totos, quos Anglia pluribus annis
Concipit in Scotos, lux obruit una Johannis.
Nam rex Anglorum, molitus nomen eorum
Funditùs auferre, luit in ſe prælia guerræ.
Arma movet, concepta fovet, perit in pariendo;
Aggreditur dum non fugitur, fugit ipſe latendo.
Dedecus aſſequitur, aggreſſor quando fugatur.
Cui bene conſulitur, quòd vel ſic ſe tueatur,
Cum paucis fugit in campo rex, enſe relicto;
Nec populo patet ulla fugæ via, principe victo.
Turba ſuperba ducum, morbum perpeſſa caducum,
Si tamen evadit, eques antè, pedes modò vadit.
Aſpiceres illic proceres alioſque potentes
Diſperſos, illos merſos, hos enſe ruentes,
Si forſan vivi fugiunt alii fugitivi,
Rupibus et rimis latitant, aut vallibus imis,
Dum captivantur. Proſternitur atque fugatur.
Forth ſepelit multos armis et equis bene cultos,
Quos probat indultos alienis ultio ſtultos.
Quos tibi ſerviles reputabas, Anglice miles,
His dum tu viles, opus eſt fatearis heriles.
Sic levat eliſos Dominus dans robora parvis
In ſe confiſos, altos proſternit in arvis.

Anglia

Anglia quæ plenis promebas cantica venis
Sume ſub his pœnis, Jeremiæ conſona trenis.
Omnibus exoſa, dum viribus imperioſa,
Omnibus eſſe ſitis, luis hîc incommoda litis.
Expertos Scotos metuens, tibi jam bene notos,
A modò ne temere contemnas, diſce cavere.
Excutit è pannis Anglos lux alma Johannis
Sancti Baptiſtæ, pro quo tibi gloria Chriſte.
Bannok habet limus quorum nec nomina ſcimus:
Quando domi deſunt, perpendit gens ſua quæ ſunt.
Palma triumphalis, inimicis exitialis,
Scotis dum ceſſit, his laus ſaluberrima creſcit.
Anglica militia bis victa, fugata, perempta,
Per loca Forthina fugientum facta ruina,
Divitiæ captæ, currus, res undique raptæ,
Materiam flendi dat Anglis atque gemendi.
Sic gens Scotorum laudat Dominum dominorum,
Inter ſaxoſum fontem caſtrumque nodoſum,
Corruit Anglorum gens perfida, fraude ſuorum.
O Deus immenſe! quàm juſto percutis enſe,
Colla ſuperborum calcans! et vota tuorum
Supplens ſupplicium precibus placatus eorum!
Scotorum cœtus vigeat, virtute repletus;
Et rex ſit lætus, vertens in gaudia fletus,
Anglis proſtratis, ſubmerſis atque fugatis,
Et captivatis. Sit laus regi pietatis.

No-

No. V.

THE following curious ſketch of the Natural Hiſtory of Ireland, in the ſtate in which it was when invaded by the Scots, is the compoſition of a Monkiſh writer, JOHANNES DE HIBERNIA; and is too intereſting and too rare, not to deſerve inſertion here, for the illuſtration of the Scottiſh Hiſtory ſo far as it is connected with the Iriſh.

JOHANNES DE HIBERNIA. Gleba præpingui, uberique frugum proventu, felix terra eſt et fœcunda Hibernia. Frugibus arva, pecore montes, nemoroſa feris abundant; paſcuis tamen quàm frugibus, gramine quàm grano fœcundior eſt inſula. Multam fruges in herba, pluriman in culmis, minorem in granis ſpem promittunt: tritici namque grana contracta ſunt huic et minuta, et vix alicujus vanni beneficio purganda. Abundè ſatis et campi veſtiuntur, farciuntur et horrea; ſola verò granaria deſtituuntur. Quod ver gignit et parturit, æſtas nutrit et provehit, vix in meſſe pluvialis aquoſitas colligi permittit: Æolicis namque flatibus et pluvialibus innundationibus, præ aliis terris, hæc exuberat. Collateralis verò Zephyro ab auſtrali parte frequentior et procelloſior aliis Corus hîc regnat. Lacus quoque

quoque plurimos et pulcherrimos, piſcoſos et grandes, præ aliis terris, quas vidimus, quaſi ſpeciale quid, hæc terra fert: quæ et mediamnes aliquantulum elevatos et valde amœnos inter ſe continet; ubi ſecuritatis loca et refugii, propriaque domicilia, et, præterquam navigio, inacceſſibilia, dominatores terræ metare ſolent. Marinis piſcibus per omnia latera ſatis abundant maritima: flumina verò lacuſque ſuis ſibique innatis fœcunda ſunt piſcibus; et præcipuè generibus tribus, ſalmonibus viz. et trutis, anguilliſque lutoſis. Muræenis etiam oculoſis ad divitum catinos abundat; ſed deſunt eis illi aliarum regionum et dulcis aquæ generoſi piſces, lucii viz. et perticæ, rochiæ, gradiones et gubiones: deſunt et minutæ lochiæ, capitones et verones, et ferè omnes qui non ex marinis fluctibus ſemitivam originem trahunt. Accipitres itaque falcones et niſos, quibus, ad nobilium delicias, animoſa pectora roſtraque recurva et acuta, pedes unguibus armatos aptoſque prædæ, natura dedit, præ aliis regionibus hæc copioſè producit. Aquilarum quoque non minorem ibi copiam, quàm alibi milvorum, videas. In tanta verò numeroſitate grues ib ingruunt, ut in uno grege centum, et circiter hunc numerum, frequenter invenias. Sunt et aves ibi multæ quæ bernaces vocantur, quas mirum in modum, contra quaſi naturam, natura producit; aucis quidem paluſtribus ſimiles, ſed minores. Ex lignis namque adjectivis per æquora devolutis, primò quaſi gummi naſcuntur; dehinc tanquam ab alga ligno cohærente, conchilibus teſtis, ad liberiorem

formationem

formationem incluſæ, per roſtra dependent, et ſic quouſque proceſſu temporis firmam plumarum veſtituram indutæ, vel in aquis decidunt, vel in aëris libertatem volatu ſe transferunt, ex ſucco ligneo marinoque, occulta nimis admirandaque ratione ſeminii, alimenta ſimulque incrementa ſuſcipiunt. Vidi etiam et ego conſcriptor hujus libri, qui me priùs ſcriptorem intitulavi, ad differentiam ſcribæ, cum oculis meis ſemel in S. Andrea plus quàm mille minuta hujuſmodi avium corpora, in littore maris ab una protela et grandi alga dependentia, teſtis incluſa et jam formata. Conſimile vidi, et multi mecum ſemel in Æmonia inſula, non tamen tanto numero ſicut priùs.

Ferarumque, quas occidentales pariunt regiones, cunctas fere ſpecies continet Hibernia. Habet enim cervos præ nimia pinguedine minùs fugere prævalentes: quantoque minores quantitate, tanto præcellentiùs efferuntur capitis et cornuum dignitate. Sunt et lepores multi, ſed minuti, cuniculis quidem tam ſui modicitate, quàm delicatâ piloſitate, conſimiles. Ut autem breviter complectar, omnium animalium, ferarum, et avium corpora hîc, quàm alibi, ſuo in genere minora reperies, ſolis hominibus ſuam retinentibus majeſtatem. Inter omnia vermium genera ſolis non nocivis Hibernia gaudet. Venenoſis omnibus caret ſerpentibus et colubris; caret bufonibus et ranis; caret tortuis et ſcorpionibus; caret aſpidibus et draconibus: habet tamen araneas et ſanguiſugas; habet lacertas, ſed has prorſus in-

nocuas. Quidam verò, favorabili satis figmento, conjecturant, Sanctos Patricium, Columbam et Brigidam pestiferis cunctis insulam pùrgâsse. Nec mihi mirandum videtur, quòd vermium istorum, sicut et piscium, avium et ferarum quarundam, naturalem defectum patitur: Sed hoc stupore dignum occurrit, quòd in Hiberniam venenosum aliunde advectum nunquam ibi vivum contineri vel potuit vel potest. Legitur namque in antiquis terræ istius Sanctorum scriptis, quòd aliquoties experiendi gratiâ serpentes in ollis æneis delati sunt; sed, quàm citò medium maris Hibernici transmeaverant, exanimes et mortui reperti sunt. Toxicum quoque similiter, si allatum fuerit, mediis in fluctibus innatâ malitiâ benignior aura privavit. Scrutatores tamen oceani mercatores afferentes audivimus, quòd cùm naves in portu Hibernico aliquamdiu exoneraverint, bufones, casu illatos, in fundo navium invenerunt; quos dum vivos in terram projecissent, statim verso ventre, videntibus et admirantibus multis, medii crepuerunt et interierunt.

Constat igitur, quòd sive ex aëris nova quidem et inaudita, benignissima tamen, clementia, sive ex terræ ipsius vi quadam occulta et venenis inimica, nec animal venenosum hîc subsistere potest; et venenum quodlibet, aliunde advectum, omnem malignitatis efficaciam prorsus amittit. In tantum siquidem terra hæc inimica veneno est, ut si aliarum regionum seu viridaria, seu quælibet alia loca, pulvere ipsius aspergantur, venenosos abinde vermes procul exterminant.

exterminant. Corrigiæ ſive coria animalium hujus patriæ conſimiliter cenenoſis obſtant. Terra terrarum omnium temperatiſſima. Non cancri calor exæſtuans compellit ad umbras: non ad focos capricorni rigor urgenter invitat. Nives hîc rarò, et tunc modico tempore durare videbis. Ex omni tamen vento, non minùs Subſolano Favonioque et Zephyro, quàm Circio et Boreali, ex omni quidem modicè, ex nullo immoderatè, brumeſcit. Sicut æſtivo, ſic et hyemali tempore herboſa vireſcunt paſcua; unde nec ad pabula fœna ſecari, nec armentis unquam ſtabula parari ſolent. Veris amœnitate temperieque tempora fere cuncta tepeſcunt. Aëris quoque clementia tanta eſt, ut nec nebula inficiens, nec ſpiritus hîc peſtilens, nec aura corrumpens. Medicorum operâ parum indiget inſula: morbidos enim homines, præter moribundos, paucos invenies. Inter ſanitatem continuam mortemque ſupremam nihil fere medium. Nemo unquam indigenarum hîc natus terram, aëremque ſalubrem non egreſſus, ullâ trium generum ſpecie febricitavit: ſolâ vexantur acutâ, eâque perrarò. Hîc quidem tenor rebus naturaliter inerat: ſed, mundo ſeneſcente, et tanquam in decrepitæ ætatis ſenium jam vergente, et ad finem tendente, cunctarum fere natura rerum corrupta et in deterius eſt mutata.

Tanta ſiquidem pluviarum hîc jam inundat ubertas, tanta nebularum et imbrium incumbit imparitas, ut vix tres dies, vel æſtivos, continuâ ſerenitate clareſcere videas.

Nulla

Nulla tamen aëris turbulentia, nulla temporis intemperies vel ſanos et hilares hîc contriſtat, vel etiam delicati capitis cerebrum turbat. Terræ motus hîc nunquam, vix ſemel in anno tonitruum audies. Non hîc tonitrua terrent, non fulmina feriunt, non cataractæ obruunt, non terræ motus abſorbet: non leo rapit, non pardus lacerat, non urſa devorat, non tygris abſumit; nec cibariorum xenia, etiam ab hoſtibus confecta, ulla veneni ſuſpicio reddit infeſta. Non novercæ privignus, non matronæ, quantumlibet offenſæ maritus toxicata pocula reformidat.

Est lacus in Momonia boreali duas continens inſulas, unam majorem et alteram minorem. Major eccleſiam habet antiquæ religionis, minor verò capellam, cui pauci cœlibes, quos cœlicolas vel Keledeos ſive Colideos vocant, devotè deſerviunt. In majorem nunquam femina, vel feminei ſexûs animal aliquod intrare potuit, quin ſtatim moreretur. In minore verò inſula nemo unquam mortuus fuit, vel morte naturali mori potuit; unde et viventium inſula vocatur. Morbo tamen lethali graviſſimè interdum vexantur, et uſque ad extremam exhalationem miſerabiliter afficiuntur. Cúmque nihil amplius ſpei, nihil jam vitæ vitalis ſupereſſe præſentiunt, cúmque, invaleſcente invaletudine, tam finaliter afflicti fuerint, ut morte mori malint, quàm vitam deducere mortis, in majorem demum inſulam ſe naviculâ deferri faciunt, qui ſtatim ut terram attingunt ſpiritum reddunt.

Est

Est fons in Momonia, cujus aquis si quis abluitur, statim canus efficitur. Vidi hominem cujus pars barbæ lymphis ejus lota canis incanduerat, alterâ parte in sui natura fuscâ manente. Est è contra fons in Lagenia, quo si quis abluitur, non canescet amplius. *Sunt hæc Johannis de Hibernia.* Sunt et alia quàm admiranda Hiberniæ mirabilia, de quibus ista sufficiant. Nunc ad annalia revertamus.

No. VI.

In my enquiries concerning the *Weights and Measures* of the Scots in the period of their History comprehended in this Volume; I took occasion to look into the Old Laws of France, in hopes of finding there something which might serve to illustrate the subject of my enquiries. The following extract from a very rare collection of those laws; notwithstanding the lateness of the dates of the statutes it contains; reflects considerable light on the Old Weights and Measures of Europe, and serves to justify the principles stated in the Text of this History.

TITRE

De la reduction des poids & meſures à vne façon & grandeur par tout le royaume de France.

Que toutes les aunes ſeront egales par le Royaume de France, & qu'il n'y aura que vne ſeule forme d'auner.

FRANCOIS I. En l'an 1540.

FRANCOIS par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, à tous preſens & à venir, Salut. Comme il ſoit venu à noſtre notice et cognoiſſance, que pour la diuerſité des aunes, aunages & forme d'auner, & des noms des meſures ſeruans à ceſte fin, tant à nos bonnes villes, & citez, qu'autres lieux de noſtre royaume, pays, terres, & ſeigneuries, par ci deuant pluſieurs, fautes, fraudes, & abus ſe ſont enſuyuis eſdits aunages, tant en draps d'or, d'argent, de ſoye, draps de laine, toilles que caneuas & autres marchandiſes qui ſont ſuietes à aunage, auec pluſieurs procez & differens, au grand intereſt de nous & de nos ſuiets & choſe publique, & pourroit pulluler & continuer ci-apres à l'aduenir, ſi par nous n'eſtoit ſur ce pourueu.

SCAVOIR faiſons, que nous deſirans toutes fraudes, fautes, abus & maluerſations ceſſer & eſtre corrigées de noſtre temps,

temps, & entre nos ſuiets eſtre gardee equité, foy & loyauté, obuier & extirper tous procez & differens, qui auiennent & ſont auenus par ci deuāt, au moyen des fraudes, abus & larrecins faits ſur le fait & forme deſdites aunes & aunages : auōs dit, declarè, ſtatuè & ordonnè, & par ces preſentes, par l'aduis & deliberation de noſtre conſeil, diſons declarons & ordonnons, voulons & nous plaiſt de noſtre certaine ſcience, pleine puiſſance & authoritè Royal qu'vne ſeule forme d'auner ſoit eſtablie & ordonnee en noſtre royaume, pays & ſeigneuries, qui aura de longueur trois pieds, ſept pouces & huit lignes, le tout à toiſe.

Et ſera la forme d'auner fuſt à fuſt, ſans donner aucun poulce & euent, ne quelconque aua tre auantage outre, ne plus auant que la deſſuſdite longueur & iuſte meſure d'icelle aune, qui ſera nommee l'aune du Roy, dont ſera premierement par le preuoſt de Paris, ou ſes lieutenans ciuil & criminel, preſens nos aduocat & procureur audit lieu, & autres, qui pour ce ſeront à appeler fait & adiuſté vn eſtallon de fer, ou cuyure de ladite longueur & forme d'aune, pour eſtre miſe en garde en vn coffre ou lieu public, ſous la garde de ladite preuoſté. Et ſemblables ſerōt faites, miſes & tenuës en nos bonnes villes & citez d'Amiens, Tholoſe, Bourdeaux, Orleās, Lyon, Bourges, Poictiers, Angers, Tours, Rouën, Dijon, Troyes, Meaux & Carcaſſonne, qu'au tres villes, lieux & places, tant à nous appartenans nuement, qu'aux princes & ſeignéurs de noſtre ſang, prelats,

lats, comtes, barons, chaſtelains, qu'autres quelconque ayans droict d'aunage, qui ſeront tenus icelles prendre ſur leſdits eſtallons, en celle deſdites villes ou citez, que bon leur ſemblera: pour auſdites aunes & non autremẽt eſtre meſurez, tant en vente, en gros, que detail, qu'en premiere, ſeconde, & toutes autres ventes & reuentes, tous draps d'or d'argent, de ſoye, draps de laine, toilles & caneuas, de quelque eſtat & qualité que ſoyent leſdites marchandiſes.

Lesquelles aunes ſeront marquees à nos armes & à chacun des bouts & coings de noſdites villes, citez, lieux & places à nous nuement appartenans, & és autres des armoiries deſdits princes, prelats, ducs, comtes, barõs, chaſtelains, & autres ayãs droict d'aunage, ſans ce qu'il en puiſſe eſtre aucunemẽt vſé, deux mois apres la publication de ces preſentes: ſur peine, c'eſt à ſcauoir auſdits ducs, prelats, comtes, barons, villes, citez & autres ayãs droict d'aunage, de priuation, tãt dudit droict que de leurs iuriſdictions: & à tous courriers & auneurs, de priuation de leurs eſtats & offices, de punition corporelle & amende arbitraire, & aux marchans vendans & achetans, de confiſcation des denrees & marchandiſes, qui ſeroyent par eux achetees & vendues, autrement qu'à ladite aune & forme d'auner, en aboliſſant tous autres noms & denominations & toutes autres quantitez & meſures, pour le fait dudit aunage, que celle dont deſſus eſt faite mention, ſous les peines deuant dites.

Si donnons en mandement au preuoſt de Paris, &c. Donné à Eſureux au mois d'Auril l'an de grace, mille cinq cens quarante : & de noſtre regne le vingtſixieme. Ainſi ſigné ſur le repli, Par le Roy en ſon conſeil. Et au deſſous. BOCHETEL. Viſa. Et ſeellé du grand ſeel de cire verde en laps de ſoyè.

LEU & plublié en iugemẽt en l'auditoire ciuil du chaſtelet de Paris, és preſences des gens du Roy, & des conſeillers, d'iceluy ſeigneur, aduocas procureurs & practiciens aſſiſtans audit chaſtelet : & ordonné ces preſentes eſtre enregiſtrees, le ieudi trezieme iour de May, l'an mille cinq cens quarante.

Declaration & modification ſur l'edict precedent, declarant que les drappiers puiſſent meſurer ſelon l'ancienne forme & couſtume, non fuſt à fuſt comme les autres marchans.

FRANCOIS I. En l'an 1543.

FRANCOIS par la grace de Dieu Roy de Frãce, à tous ceux qui ces preſentes lettres verront, Salut. Comme nos chers & bien amez les conſeillers & eſcheuins de noſtre bonne ville & cité de Lyon, nous ayent par ci deuant preſenté requeſte contenant que les marchans tant de noſtre

royaume que autres eſtrangers frequentans nos foires dudit Lyon, & auſſi les vendeurs, acheteurs & faiſant le train de drapperie de laines leurs auroyent remonſtré que noſtredit edict & ordonnãce par nous faits au mois d'Auril, mille cinq cens quarante, ſur la forme & maniere d'auner, leur eſtoit & eſt grandement dommageable, preiudiciable, & inſupportable en ce ſeulement qui'l eſt ordonné auner fuſt à fuſt leſdits draps de laine, pour leſs cauſes & raiſons qui s'enſuyuent : Premierement, par ce que leſdits draps de laine ſont d'autre forme & nature que ne ſont les draps d'or, de ſoye & de toilles ſuietes à auner, par ce que leſdits draps d'or, de ſoye & de toilles ſont fermes, & ne ſe peuuent eſtendre comme font les draps de laine, qui ſont mols & obeiſſans tant par la liziere, que par le dos, de ſorte qu'on ne les ſcauroit iuſtement auner fuſt à fuſt. Car en meſurant leſdits draps de laine fuſt à fuſt, ainſi qu'il ſe fait deſdits draps de ſoye & toilles, il conuiendroit que vne perſonne tienſiſt l'aune, & vne autre perſonne le drap à deux mains, & le preſenter ſur l'aune : & ce faiſant on ne ſcauroit ſi peu tirer le drap de laine, & le tenir de roideur le lõg de l'aune, qu'il ne s'eſtende d'vn poulce ou deux par aune, ſelon l'obeiſſance du drap qui ſeroit tiré & tenu en roideur, tellement que ſur vn drap de quarante où cinquante aunes s'y trouueroit deux aunes de tare, & chacune fois qu'il ſeroit auſſi auné fuſt à fuſt, autant de fois y ſeroit trouué diuerſité & difference d'aunage. Car impoſſible ſeroit tenir le drap de laine touſiours en vne raiſon & roideur,

deur, qu'il ne ſoit plus roide, ou plus laſche vne fois qu'autre : qui cauſeroit plus d'abus à ceux qui voudroyent maluerſer, au gros detriment de noſtre pauure peuple vendant & achetant leſdits draps, dont aduiendroit differēt par tout noſtredit royaume, & vn dommage ineſtimable. Car pour auner ainſi fuſt à fuſt, il y faudroit communément eſtre quatre perſonnes : à ſcauoir l'vn qui tienſiſt l'aune en l'air, l'autre le drap, vn autre qui baillaſt & l'aſchat le drap à celuy qui le preſenteroit à l'aune, & vn autre qui receuroit le drap à cauſe de la peſanteur : qui ſeroyēt gros frais, & leſdits quatre perſonnes ne ſcauroyent auner fuſt à fuſt en ſix iours autāt de draps que feroit & fera vne perſonne aunāt tout ſeul auec le poulce en la maniere accouſtumee ſans deſrober leſdits draps. Et la grand longueur d'aunage cauſeroit que bien ſouuent tous les draps qui ſe vendroyent ſur la fin deſdites foires de Lyon, qui eſt le temps que ſe fait la grand vente, ne ſe pourroit faire dedans le temps de la franchiſe. Et pourtant ſeroyent les marchans contrains payer les charges, impoſitions & iſſues comme s'ils n'eſtoyent venus à la foire, qui ſeroit cauſe de les deſtourner, & de ne plus y venir, & par conſequent l'anichillement d'icelles foires. Et au contraire, en faiſant l'aunage d'iceux draps de laine en la maniere accouſtumee, à ſcauoir coucher le drap ſur vne table par vn ſeul meſureur tenant l'aune d'vne main qu'il couche ſur ledit drap, lequel il tient de l'autre main, mettāt le poulce & euent au bout de l'aune. Ce faiſant ne pourroit ni ne peut frauder ne tenir le drap

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en autre roideur que de ſa nature, & en meſureroit iuſtement le meſureur plus en vn iour que leſdits quatre perſonnes ne feroyent fuſt à fuſt en ſix iours, & ne ſeroit ledit drap retourné ne detourné, mais demeureroit l'aune qu'il nous auroit & a pleu ordonner en ſa longueur & eſtat, ioint ledit poulce & euent pour aune quant auſdits draps de laine ſeulement. Nous humblement requerans leſdits ſupplians que pour obuier aux fautes & abus qui s'y pourroyent perpetrer & commettre, & entretenir le train & manufactures d'iceux draps de laine, qui eſt le plus grād & fructueux proffit de noſtredit royaume, & qui nourriſt la pluſpart de noſtre peuple : noſtre plaiſir fuſt ordonner qu'en entretenant l'aune de ſa longueur par nous ordonnee par tout noſtredit royaume, ſoit permis & loiſible faire le meſurage d'vn poulce & euent pour chacune aune en la maniere accouſtumee, quant auſdits draps de laine ſeulement, & ſur ce leur impartir noſtre grace : laquelle requeſte par eux ainſi à nous preſentee, nous aurions enuoyee à noſtre preuoſt de Paris, ou ſon lieutenant, pour ſoy informer & enquerir de la verité du contenu en iceluy : & apres nous renuoyer ladite information qui ſeroit ainſi par luy faite auec ſon aduis, à fin de pouruoir auſdits ſupplians, ainſi que de raiſon : ſuyuant lequel renuoy noſtre amé & feal conſeiller maiſtre Iean Iaques de Meſmes, lieutenant ciuil de noſtredite preuoſté, procedant à faire ladite information & inqueſtion, auroit procedé à ſoy informer & enquerir ſur le contenu en icelle : & l'information par luy

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ſur ce faite renuoyee auec ſon aduis par deuers nous & noſtre conſeil priué : par lequel et pour les cauſes plus à plein y contenues & declarees, luy ſemble que nous deuons ordonner que les draps de laine ſoyent aunez d'oreſenauant ſelon la forme ancienne & accouſtumee d'auner, en baillant poulce & euent deuant, & non poinct fuſt à fuſt ſans poulce & ſans euent, ainſi qu'il eſt contenu par l'edict ci deuãt par nous fait d'auner leſdits draps de laine fuſt à fuſt, & que cela ſera noſtre grand profit & de noſtre royaume, en gardant touterfois l'aune & meſure par nous ordonnee, qu'il ſuffira d'auner fuſt à fuſt ſans euent les draps de ſoye & autres ſemblables.

Scavoir faiſons, que nous deſirans ſur toutes choſes le commerce & traffique de marchandiſe de drap eſtre entretenu en noſtredit royaume, comme eſtant l'vn des principaux profits de nos ſuiets & choſe publique, enſemble la maniere & façon anciẽne d'auner leſdits draps garder & obſeruer, & obuier aux grans pertes & dommages qui pourroyent aduenir à noſdits, ſuiets & choſe publique, s'ils eſtoyent contrains d'auner leſdits draps fuſt à fuſt en la maniere & forme d'auner nouuellement trouuee & inuentee. Pour ces cauſes & autres conſiderations à ce nous mouuans, & eu ſur ce ſemblablement l'aduis des gens de noſtre conſeil priué, auons de nos certaine ſcience, pleine puiſſance & authorité Royal par ces preſentes dit, declaré, voulu & ordonné, diſons, declarons, voulons & nous plaiſt par

par edict, ſtatut & ordonnance perpetuels & irreuocables que leſdits draps de laine ſoyent d'oreſenauant & par ci apres aunez ſelon la forme ancienne d'auner, en baillant par les auneurs d'iceux poulce & euent, & non fuſt à fuſt ſans poulce & euent, ainſi qu'il eſt contenu par iceluy edict. Et en gardant toutesfois l'aune & meſure par nous ordonnee.

Si donnons en mandement par ces dites preſentes, &c. Donné à Paris, le vingtieme iour de Iuillet, l'an de grace mille cinq cens quarantetrois : & de noſtre regne le vingtneufieme. Ainſi ſigné ſur le repli. Par le Roy en ſon conſeil. ROBERTET.

REGISTRATA audito procuratore generali Regis hoc conſentiente Pariſiis in Parlamento, vltima die Iulij, anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo quadrageſimotertio. Signé, BERRVYER.

REGISTRATA audito procuratore generali Regis, Rothomagi, in Parlamento die prima Aprilis, anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo quadrageſimotertio. Signé, SVREAV.

Lettres

Lettres de commiſſion pour la reduction des poids & meſures à vne forme, qui ſeront appelez poids & meſure de Roy.

HENRI II. En l'an 1557.

HENRI par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, au premier de nos amez & feaux preſidens, maiſtres des requeſtes ordinaires de noſtre hoſtel, conſeillers de noſtre cour de Parlement, & maiſtres ordinaires de noſtre chambre des comtes ſur ce requis, Salut. Comme en toutes les duchez, marquiſats, comtez, vicomtez, baronnies, chaſtelenies, villes, terres, iuriſdictions de noſtre royaume & pays de noſtre obeiſſance y ait poids & meſures, la pluſpart differentes de nom, appellation & grandeur, & ſoit ainſi qui bien ſouuent les habitans de l'vne deſdites villes ou lieux ne ſcauent ni entendent les noms, appellations, poids & grandeur des autres : dont prouient que ceux qui n'ont cognoiſſance deſdits poids & meſures, cuidans prendre ou acheter les denrees & marchandiſes aux poids, prix & meſures, plus petis que ceux qu'ils cuident & eſtiment acheter : auſſi les receueurs & officiers, tant de noſtre domaine que deſdits ducs, marquis, comtes, vicomtes, barons, chaſtelains, ſeigneurs & autres, en receuant les blez, cens, & rentes, les font aucunesfois payer à vne meſure pour l'autre, & bien ſouuent plus grande que celle que les ſuiets ſa doyuent bailler, & apres en vendant leſdits blez, & grains, ou en

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rendant comte à leurs maiſtres, les rendent, ou vendent & comtent à plus petite meſure & pareillement les marchans & autres vendans, & debitans marchandiſes, & denrees à meſure & poids ont ſouuent deux poids, plus petis les vns que les autres : & en leſs receuant les meſurent à grandes meſures, ou à grand poids : & quand ils les vendent, les meſurent & poiſent à poids plus petit. Et ſur ce ont eſté & ſont encore commis pluſieurs autres fraudes, abus & maluerſations, dont s'en ſont enſuyuis & enſuyuent pluſieurs queſtions, procez, & differens entre nos ſuiets, qui eſt cauſe de les conſtituer en grans frais, deſpens, trauail & vexations, comme il ſeroit encores plus à l'aduenir, ſi ſur les troubles & confuſions n'y eſtoit pourueu de quelque clair & certain remede, qui ne pourroit eſtre meilleur q de reduire tous leſdits poids & meſures à vn, & ſelon iceux poids & meſures ainſi reduits, faire regir & gouuer ner tous nos ſuiets. Et pour ceſt effect, & faire ladite reduction commettre & deputer quelques perſonnages notables à nous ſeurs & feables : nous à ces cauſes vous auons commis & deputé, & vn chacun de vous, & le premier ſur ce requis commettons & deputons, pour proceder à ladite reduction deſdits poids & meſures, tant noſtres que deſdits princes, prelats, ducs, marquis, comtes, vicomtes, barons, chaſtellains, & autres ayans droict de poids & meſure, ſoit de blez ou autres grains, vin, ſel, huile, & tous autres viures, marchandiſes, denrees qui ayent accouſtumé d'eſtre vendues, troquees ou debitees, ou bien deuës de rente ou

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enſiue auſdits poids & meſures, & en ce faiſant iceux poids & meſures reduire (en adiouſtant ou diminuant) à vn ſeul poids & meſure, qui ſeront dits, nommez & appelez par tout noſtredit royaume & pays de noſtre obeiſſance, le poids & meſure de Roy. Et pource que noſtre ville de Paris eſt la principale & capitale de noſtre royaume, en laquelle eſt le premier & le principal ſiege de nos Parlemens & iuſtices, nous voulons la reduction deſdites meſures, & execution de noſtre preſente commiſſion eſtre premierement faite en ladite ville, pour ladite reduction faite, & à l'exemple d'icelle eſtre apres gardé, obſerué, & entretenu en toutes les autres villes & prouinces de noſtre royaume. Et pour ce faire, nous voulons & ordonnõs que par deuant vous leſdits ſeigneurs qui pretendent droit de poids, & meſures en noſtredite ville, fauxbourgs, & banlieuë de Paris, ſoyent tenus de bailler les noms & denominations de leurſdites meſures & poids, du plus grand iuſques au plus petit, pour proceder á ladite reduction, & icelle faite, voſtre procez verbal, & ce que par vous en aura eſté fait, eſtre rapporté par deuãt nous: pour (le tout veu) eſtre par nous pourueu, comme nous verrons eſtre à faire par raiſon. De ce faire vous auons donné & donnons plein pouuoir, authorité, commiſſion, & mandement ſpecial par ces preſentes: car tel eſt noſtre plaiſir: nonobſtant quelconques edicts, ordonnances, reſtrictions, mandemens, defenſes, & lettres à ce contraires. Donné à Villiers-coſterets le vingtieme iour de May, l'an de grace mille cinq cens

cinquanteſept : & de noſtre regne l'onzieme. Par le Roy eſtant en ſon conſeil. Signé, Dv Thier.

La reduction des meſures de charbon & auoine à l'ancienne meſure.

CHARLES IX. En l'an 1563.

CHARLES par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, à tous ceux qui ces preſentes lettres verront, Salut. Ayant entendu en noſtre priué conſeil les remonſtrances faites en iceluy par noſtre amé & feal conſeiller & procureur general en noſtre cour de Parlement à Paris, & le procureur de noſtre bonne ville & cité dudit Paris, de l'incommodité que rapportoit à ladite ville & au public la reduction de la petite meſure à charbon & auoine : & veu en noſtredit conſeil l'information faite ſur la commodité ou incommodité de la reduction de ladite meſure : auons par l'aduis d'iceluy dit, declaré & ordonné, diſons, declarons & ordonnons ladite meſure de charbon & auoine eſtre reduite, & laquelle nous reduiſons par ces preſentes, à l'ancien ſeptier, qui eſt de vingtvn boiſſeau : à laquelle ancienne meſure, & non autrement, nous voulons la vente deſdits charbon & auoine eſtre d'oreſenauant & cy apres faite. Et ce nonobſtant l'edict & ordonnance ſur ce faits par defunct noſtre treſhonoré

treſhonoré ſeigneur & pere (que Dieu abſolue) que nous auons pour ce regard, & ſans y preiudicier en autres choſes y contenues, reuoquez & reuoquons par ceſdites preſentes.

Si donnons en mandement, &c. Donné à Fontainebleau le vingtvnieme iour de Feurier, l'an de grace mille cinq cens ſoixantetrois: & de noſtre regne le quatrieme. Par le Roy en ſon conſeil. Bovrdin.

Lecta, publicata & regiſtrata, audito, conſentiente & requirente procuratore generali Regis, Pariſiis in Parlamento, ſeptima die Martij, anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo ſexageſimotertio. Sic ſignatum, Dv Tillet.

No. VII.

THE following Bull of Pope Innocent IV. was indeed iſſued during the minority of Alexander III. But, as it throws much light on the relation between the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers in Scotland, and on the authority which the Pope pretended to exerciſe over the Scottiſh Church and State; it is inſerted here; having been omitted at the cloſe of the Firſt Volume.

BULL

BULL OF POPE INNOCENT IV.

INNOCENTIUS Epiſcopus, &c. Venerabilibus fratribus Lyncoln, Wygorn, et Lycchefelden. Epiſcopis, ſalutem et Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Clamant in auribus noſtris Scoticana eccleſia, et adverſus eos, qui fidelem Scotiae videntur regere populum, et heredem illius Chriſtianiſſimi Regis, adhuc impuberem, obtinere ſuae poteſtati ſubjectum, multiplicem ſe habere proponit materiam queſtionis, et caritativa quidem in illos primum querela dirigitur, pro rege puero et pro regno, quod videlicet eidem regi pupillo bené non conſultant, dum thronum ejus novi aulici aſcendentes, amotis ſanitatis conſiliis, quibus providus eum ſuffulcerat vivens adhuc patrius affectus, juſtitiâ et judicio non conformant, nec in ſua regnum ipſum integritate conſervant. Dum iidem novi aulici novis conſiliorum machinis eccleſiaſticam impetunt libertatem, quam profecto qui violant, principum robur quo fides viget catholica, et regia dirigitur celſitudo, confringunt. Inter caetera quae in derogationem eccleſiaſticae poteſtatis in partibus illis miniſtri regni et locorum domini poſt obitum clarae memoriae Regis Scottorum, quem fides et libertas eccleſiae Chriſtianiſſimum habuit defenſorem, ſub rege tenerae indolis attemptare dicuntur, nemini videri non debet abſonum et abſurdum, et divini et humani judicii animadverſione plectendum, quod cum eccleſiarum prelati excommunicationis, vel interdicti,

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ſeu ſuſpenſionis ſententias, ob contumaciam ſeu offenſam proferunt in ſubjectis, ad eos, ut hujuſmodi ſententias revocent, literatoria ſub nomine regis juſſa manant, qui niſi praeceptioni pareant, ad id per bonorum ſuorum confiſcationem ſacrilegam compelluntur, ſicut aliquibus ejuſdem regni epiſcopis dicitur contigiſſe.

Super poſſeſſionibus quoque, ſeu rebus quas in jus divinum pia contulit largitas devotorum, clerici per regia trahuntur edicta contra cleri privilegium ad judicium ſeculare, nec adiuntur jus publicum allegantes, ſicque per judicis incompetentis injuriam nonnunquam eccleſiae ſuis poſſeſſionibus ſpoliantur. Et praeterea, cum aliquibus poſſeſſionibus clericis in eleemoſynam a laicis perpetuam donatis, nihil ſibi praeter exercitum ad defenſionem regni et commune auxilium retinent donatores, iidem miniſtri et alii laici eorum favore ſuffulti, per adjectionem hujuſmodi praedictas poſſeſſiones laicantes fore cenſentes, eas in omnibus paris conditionis efficiunt, cum poſſeſſionibus laicorum, et in divini juris diſpendium, interpretatione perversâ donatorum munificentiam reſtringentes, laicae ſubjiciunt ſervituti. Non attendentes quoque quod laicis, quantumlibet religioſis de rebus eccleſiaſticis nulla eſt poſſibilitas diſtribuendi attributa eccleſiaſtica praedia, invitis et contradicentibus dominis, limitare propriâ temeritate, et de ipſorum finibus in quorum poſſeſſione pacifica eccleſiae fuiſſe noſcantur per tempora longiora, ſequentes interdum perjuria laicorum, qui

qui clericis quidem ſunt infeſti, [et] proferunt pro laicis contra clericos iniqua judicia, quae tandem per ſpoliationis violentiam exſequuntur; porro de jure patronatûs, quam ſit ſpiritualibus cauſis annexum nemo ferè non novit; ſed licet per hoc quod explorati ſit juris, illud ad judicium eccleſiaſtici examinis pertinere de generali, et jure conſentaneâ regni praedicti conſuetudine, ſit obtentum; id tamen ibidem novis conviciis uſurpatur a laicis, et, ut ſuper hoc cum de illo agendum fuerit ad forinſecum recurratur judicium, jam ex parte Regia eſt publicè proclamatum. Fidei vero ac jurisjurandi modum quis abnuat inter ſpiritualia negotia, niſi quis de fide non ſenſerit computandum, et cum carne ſe in hac parte ſpiritui contumaciter praeferente, coeperunt in partibus veſtris regia ſcripta diſcurrere, per quae in regis notam et regni jacturam redundant, ne quis ad obſervationem juramenti vel fidei per cenſuram eccleſiaſticam cogatur, inhibetur.

Sane, licet ſit de antiqua ejuſdem regni conſuetudine introductum, et velut humanae diſciplinae conſonum pacificè uſque ad hoc tempus obſervatum, ut praelati quandem poenam infligant pecuniariam, pro delictis quae ad cenſuram eccleſiaſticam noſcuntur pertinere, cum delinquentes perſpexerint ſpirituali gladio, quo non eſt poena ſeverior, feriendos. Jam regni praedicti magnates, et alii temporali praediti poteſtate, conſuetudinem immutare volentes laudabilem, ſubditis ſuis ne hujuſmodi poenae pareant interdicunt.

cunt. Ad ea insuper quae ab humani jure dominii divinae potestatis auctoritas abdicavit, ministrorum fui cultûs usibus profutura, praesumptuosa nimis atque damnabilis eorundem magnatum prorogatur audacio de foeno, molendinis, pascuis decimas solvi ecclesiasticas interdicens. Si qui vero super iis praestandis in judicium coram ecclesiasticis judicibus evocantur, actores persequi jus divinum, aut judices super eo justitiam exhibere poscentibus, missa sub nomine regis edicta prohibitoria non permittunt, quin potius hoc sub gravis poenae interminatione proposita iidem judices coguntur jam rite prolatas nuper sententias revocare. Clerici vero uxorati ejusdem regni, qui clericalem deferentes tonsuram clericali gaudere solent privilegio, et cum bonis suis sub ecclesiasticae protectionis manere praesidio ab antiquo, solitae immunitatis beneficiis exuuntur, et sub nova rediguntur onera servitutis. Verum, ne parum illis esset per hoc in Scoticanam ecclesiam deliquisse, peccatum adjecerunt, non satis veniale in Romanam, dum plenitudinem potestatis qua Deus sedem Apostolicam praedidit, quantum in ipsis est vacuare conantes, clericos literarum nostrarum impetratores, et judices delegatos a nobis ab agendo vel cognoscendo, commissa tractare negotia prolatis regiis prohibitionibus et interminationibus non permittunt, in ejusdem sedis intolerabilem injuriam et contemptum; verum quia [l. quamvis] pastorum interest praecipuè pro salute gregis, et pro decore libertatis ecclesiasticae se objicere ascendentibus ex adverso, nonnulli de clero ut concussis columnis

lumnis aedificium corruat adverſus pontifices ſuos; impias, ut dicitur, inter ſe colligationes et conſpirationes innectunt, in periculum eccleſiaſtici ſtatûs et ordinis, et ſuarum perniciem animarum. Gravia ſunt haec, nec poſſunt ſine culpa incorrecta relinqui, vel diſſimulatione aliquâ praeteriri: Quae quidem, ex eo praecipuè, quod in quibuſdam religioſis et clericis cooperationis habere dicuntur favorem, a quibus in laicos, quos ſalutaribus remediis a tantorum peſte morborum curare debuerant, corruptela prodicitur, zelum excitant ſalutiferae ultionis, et tempeſtivum ſuadent medicinae antidotum praeparari, ne in regis diſpendium, quem aetatis infirmitas, ut dicitur, iſta non capiens excuſare quodammodo videtur a culpa, et in actores ejus retorquere delictum, nec non in detrimentum regni, lapſum fidei et ruinam catholicae libertatis praemiſſa malorum initia per moroſam tolerantiam in illis Chriſtianae *** ipſis invaleſcant. Cum enim qui talia nequiter agunt vel agenda ſuadent, non ſit incerta damnatio, et promptum in eos apud Deum durae animadverſionis judicium non dormitet, paſtoralis ſolicitudinis zelus tunc in eis miſeretur et commodat, cum in plectendis culpis eorum ſeverius excandeſcit. Quare fraternitati veſtrae per Apoſtolica ſcripta diſtrictè praecipiendo mandamus, quatenus conſiliarios, officiales, miniſtros regis, regnique ejuſdem magnates, et alios tam religioſos et clericos, quam laicos, haec et iis ſimilia praeſumentes, eorumque fautores, qui negligenter, cum poſſent perturbare, perverſos fovere videntur, ut praeſumptiones praedictas

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in ſtatum debitum ſine morae diſpendio ſuadeant revocare, et a conſimilibus prorſus abſtineant in futurum; non impedientes ullo modo per ſe, vel alios, vel impediri quantum in eis ſit permittentes eccleſiarum rectores, et clericos, ſuper praemiſſis, et aliis, uti pacificè juriſdictionibus, libertatibus, et immunitatibus, in temporalibus ſuis bonis, juxta conſtitutiones canonicas et civiles, ac conſuetudines approbatas, per excommunicationem in perſonas, et interdictum in terris, ſi laici fuerint, quacunque etiam dignitatis, vel poteſtatis eminentiâ praefulgentes. Si vero clerici cujuſcunque dignitatis, gradûs, vel ordinis, per privationem, vel ſuſpenſionem perpetuam a praelationibus, dignitatibus, et beneficiis eccleſiaſticis, auctoritate noſtrâ, ſnblato cujuſlibet appellationis obſtaculo, de plano, et abſque judiciorum ſtrepitu, quotiens expedierit vel oportuerit, et ſuper hoc requiſiti fueritis, compellatis, praelatos nihilominus et clericos ſaepe fati regni quos laicorum ad opprimendam totaliter eccleſiaſticam libertatem, et clerum quemcunque nunc, vel in poſterum, contra ſolemnitatem judiciariam conſtiterint intentores; niſi hoc celeriter emendare curaverint, moniti competenter cum literis noſtris cauſam ipſorum contingentibus perſonaliter infra peremptorium terminum eis praefigendum a vobis ad ſedem apoſtolicam, ab officiis beneficiiſque ſuſpenſos, venire rogatis, prout egerint recepturos. Subditos quoque quos contra praelatos conſpirationis facinus deprehenderitis admiſiſſe poenâ canonicâ pu-

nientes, non obſtante, ſi aliquibus eorum forſitan ſub quacunque forma uberiore generaliter, vel ſpecialiter, a ſede Apoſtolica ſit indultum, quod excommunicari vel ſuſpendi non poſſunt, vel ipſorum terrae ſubjici eccleſiaſtico interdicto, ſeu quavis aliâ dictae ſedis indulgentiâ, per quam commiſſa vobis juriſdictionis executio impediri valeat vel deferri, et de qua plenam et expreſſam in literis veſtris fieri mentionem oporteat, ſeu conſtitutione de duabus dietis edicta in concilio generali, ſive quod Scotis dicimur conceſſiſſe, ut extra regnum Scotiae nequeant per literas apoſtolicas ad judicium evocari. Et, ſi non omnes iis exequendis potueritis intereſſe, duo veſtrûm nihilominus ea exſequentur. Dat. Jan. pridie Kal. Junii. pontificatûs noſtri anno octavo. Deo gratias.

No. VIII.

THE following Charter granted by Alexander III. to an anceſtor of the family of Erſkine of Mar, illuſtrates the condition of the *Servi aſcripti glebæ*, at that period.

ALEXANDER, Dei gratia, Rex Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terre ſue—Salutem. Sciant preſentes et

et futuri quod ALEUMUS de MESER, filius et heres quondam ALEUMI de MESER, totam terram suam de TULLICOULTRY, cum pertinentiis, in feodo de Clackmanan, quam de nobis tenuit hereditarie, per defectum seruitii de dicta terra nobis debiti, coram pluribus nostri Regni magnatibus, scilicet, ALEXANDRO CUMYN, Comite de Bouchan, tunc Justiciario Scotie, HUGONE de ABYRNITH, Magistro, W. WISCHARD tunc Cancellario, FERGUSIO CUMYN, WALTERO de ABERNYTH, WILLIELMO de LYSURSER, et NICHOLAO de RUTYRFORD, ac multis aliis, die Sancte Trinitatis, anno gratie millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo primo, apud Castrum Puellarum, per fustum et baculum nobis reddidisset, et totum jus suum quod habuit in dicta terra cum pertinentiis, vel habere potuit pro se et heredibus suis in perpetuum quietum clamasset, nos totam dictam terram de TULLICOULTRX, cum pertinentibus, WILLIELMO Comiti de MARR, dilecto nostro et fideli pro homagio et servitio suo, dedimus concessimus, et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus, sine aliquo retinemento, tenendam et habendam eidem WILLIELMO, et heredibus suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris in feode et hereditate per easdem divisas per quas WALTERUS, filius ALANI Senescalli, tunc Justiciarius Scotie, et ROGERUS AUENEL, tunc vicecomes de STRIUELYN, predicto ALEUMO, patri dicti Aleumi, ex precepto inclito recordationis domini ALEXANDRI Regis, patris nostri carissimi, assignauerunt et tradiderunt, cum incremento quod

per

per eoſdem WALTERUM filium ALANI, et ROGERUM AUENEL factum fuit, MATHEO CLERICO de Tullicoultry, in nemore, in ſaltibus, in planis et aſperis, in terris et aquis, in pratis et paſcuis, in moris et mareſiis, in ſtagnis et malendinis, cum ſocco et ſacca, cum furca et foſſa, cum *Tol et Them et infandethef*, et cum omnibus aliis juſtis pertinentiis ſuis, ET CUM OMNIBUS NATIUIS EJUSDEM TERRÆ, qui die collationis facte predicto Aleumo patri dicti Aleumi, in dicta terra manentes fuerunt, libere, quiete, plenarie et honorifice, per ſeruitium unius militis, ſaluis noſtris eleemoſinis. Conceſſimus etiam eidem WILLIELMO, ut ipſe et heredes ſui, habeant et teneant dictam terram in liberum foreſtum. Quare firmiter prohibemus, ne quis ſine eorum licentia in predicta terra ſecet, aut venetur ſuper noſtram plenariam forisfacturam decem librarum. Teſtibus, venerabili patre GAMELINO, epiſcopo Sancti Andree, ALEXANDRIO CUMYN, Comite de Bouchan Juſticiario Scotie, WALTERO Comite de MONTETH, JOHANNE CUMYN, WILLIELMO de BREECHYN, EUSTACHIO de Turribus, REGINALDO LE CHEN, apud Forfar, viceſſimo primo die Decembris, anno regni noſtri quarto decimo.

No.

No. IX.

THESE Lines from Propertius illuſtrate the ſtate of the arts and commerce in Britain, in the Age of Auguſtus. I have met with them, in my reading, ſince the publication of the Firſt Vol. to which they properly refer.

Eſſeda cælatis ſiſte *Britanna* jugis.

PROPERTII, Eleg. L. II. E. 1.

Nunc etiam *infectos* demens imitare *Britannos*,
Ludis et *externo tincta* nitore *caput*.
An ſi *cærules* quædam ſua tempora fuco
Tinxerit, idcirco cærula forma bona eſt?
Ut natura dedit, ſic omnis recta figura.
Turpis Romano *Belgicus* ore color.

Eleg. L. II. E. 14.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM